NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCCCLXXIII.

APRIL, 1896.

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES: THEIR TRUE RELATIONS.

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NOTWITHSTANDING the long-continued and extensive commercial relations between the United States and England (using this term as a synonym for the United Kingdom), far more extensive on the part of the former than with any other nation or people; notwithstanding that the people of the United States and of England are essentially of the same blood, language, religion and political principles, and that a fair acquaintance with English history and literature is regarded in the United States as an essential to a liberal education; there are some most important characteristics of England's commercial policy and sovereignty which are not generally recognized in the United States by men claiming to be educated, and by the masses are so completely ignored, as to constitute the occasion for misunderstandings and continual harsh denunciations. If these assumptions are warranted, it would seem almost necessarily to follow that if the true relative conditions of the two countries were better understood, it would be conducive to peace and good feeling, and might be in a high degree influential in respect to a settlement of the Venezuela difficulty.

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That there is much of popular prejudice among the masses in the United States against England cannot be doubted; and the question is most pertinent: To what is such a state of feeling attributable?

A general answer is, to a variety of causes.

First, to the memory of two wars with the mother country. But in each of these contests, the people of the Anglo-American colonies in the first instance, and the people of the United States in the second, obtained all for which they contended; and the parties and the measures responsible for what happened have long passed into history. And here it may not be uninteresting to call attention to the fact, that the grievance of the colonies which is generally regarded as the prime cause of the American Revolution, namely, that the colonists were taxed by the mother country without representation in Parliament, was not in the nature of a special discrimination by the British Government against their transatlantic subjects, inasmuch as historical investigations have since shown that at the same time not more than one-tenth of the people of England had any vote for, or personal representation in, the British Parliament.

A second cause which has been most influential for prejudice against England was the policy of the administration of the British Government under Lord Palmerston toward the United States during the period of the civil war. But there is now no question that the masses of the people of England were not in sympathy with their Government in this respect, and that the British working people especially, although brought in large numbers to the verge of starvation, by reason of the inability of their employers to obtain their accustomed supply of cotton from the United States, followed without murmuring the advice of those earnest and constant friends of the Federal Union—Messrs. Cobden and Bright—rather than that of Palmerston and his Ministry. And in illustration of what were the real sentiments of the masses of the United Kingdom during the period when the outlook for the loyal states was most inauspicious, it is well to recall that when Mr. Roebuck, as the representative of Lord Palmerston, advocated and moved in the House of Commons the recognition of the Southern Confederacy, and backed his recommendation with an acknowledged burst of oratory, in which he said that his only fear of the pending issue of the war was that the

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South should establish its independence without England's assistance, the House, under the lead and influence of John Bright, discredited Mr. Roebuck and his arguments by such a majority as rendered the adoption of his motion an impossibility. It is now well known that it was mainly through the influence or intervention of England's Queen that war did not follow, when Admiral Wilkes, in contravention of all international law, seized the "Trent," a British steamer, with Messrs. Slidell and Mason, and in the event of which the perpetuation of the Federal Union would have been all but impossible; a result which the government of every continental state of Europe, with the possible exception of Russia, would have been glad to have happened; while the action of the Government of France, under Louis Napoleon, stopped little short of actual hostilities against the Union, and probably would have been more offensive but for the restraining influence of England. It should also not be forgotton that after the war Great Britain submitted our claim of damages as a nation against her to arbitration, and paid without grumbling fifteen millions of dollars in cash into the United States Treasury, a sum which, in the opinion of the arbitrators, covered all the legitimate claims of the United States against her.

With this brief consideration of the causes of prejudice on the part of the people of the United States against England, which, although powerfully operative in the past, ought not now to be, inasmuch as all the international differences involved have been amicably settled, undeniably to the advantage of the former, and are now only important as matters of history, we come now to the consideration of a third cause, which at present is far more potential than the aggregate influence of all other causes, and which is accepted and endorsed as in the nature of a rightful international grievance by nearly every member of our national or state legislatures, and by nearly every newspaper and magazine in the country. And that is the assumption that the governmental and commercial policy of England is characterized by no other principle save to monopolize, through arbitrary, selfish, and unjust measures, everything on the earth's surface that can glorify herself and promote the interests of her own insular population, to the detriment of all other nations and people; and that it is the bounden duty of the people and government of the United States, in behalf of popular liberty, civilization, and of Christianity,

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to put an end to the further continuance of such a policy, even if a resort to war would be necessary to effect it.

Thus in a recent speech in the Senate of the United States, Senator Cullom, of Illinois, characterized England as having planted its flag "on all the scattering islands and on nearly every spot on earth where it could monopolize, or control, the strategic advantages of location for its own interests"; and that we cannot "look with indifference" upon her policy to reach out farther until, if left alone, she will finally dominate Venezuela. And another member of Congress, not to be outdone in this line, publicly expressed the opinion that it was for the interest of the United States to put an end to what he termed the "grab-all policy of England."

The following additional citations of opinions recently expressed by influential men in the United States are also pertinent to this subject.

In an address at a Loyal Legion banquet, at Detroit in May, 1896, Hon. D. M. Dickinson, ex-Postmaster-General, spoke as follows:

"In the present condition, we may indulge in a reciprocity of polite phrasing and post-prandial exuberance, if our alert watchman will meantime keep an eye on our good friends across the Atlantic, especially when, having appropriated Africa, the islands and even the rocks of the sea, and wherever else force or intrigue may gain a footing, they begin to take an interest, not altogether born of curiosity or of a purely Christianizing spirit, in this hemisphere. One cannot be so innocent as to believe that the sentiment of relationship or friendship of England to the United States would stand in the way of the settled policy of Great Britain to make Englishmen richer and her power greater, even at our cost. Her unvarying policy is first and last and always, to advance British interests and retain British supremacy—to retain and add to British wealth. Her purposes are material. Whoever gets in the way of that is the enemy of England, and will be so treated—whether it be the United States as a great commercial rival who may be intrigued against and encroached upon and even crippled in some time of her distress, or when off guard, or by a tribe of black men in Africa in the way of her colonization schemes, who may be safely massacred with machine guns."

"The gold monometallic policy of Great Britain, now in force among all great civilized nations, is, I believe, the great enemy of good business throughout the world at this moment. Therefore, it seems to me, if there is any way in which we can strike England's trade or her moneyed interest, it is our clear policy to do it in the interest of silver."—*Speech of Henry Cabot Lodge in the U. S. Senate, April* 6, 1895.

"The English people are a very good people, but they are not the British Government. That is another thing; and in every emergency with which

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the United States has been confronted the British Government has been our enemy. She is pushing us on every side now. She is trying to straddle the Nicaraguan canal and to grab the Alaskan goldfields. Whenever she gets hold of a bit of land, from that time her boundary line is afloat. Look at the map of India, and stop and think. That began with a trading company, English—and British arms and a British warship to help it to its rights. And now India is all a British possession. That is the kind of a nation that we are facing. Look at their fancy drill the other day, when in five days a powerful squadron was gathered at the stated point. Is there no object lesson for America in that? I tell you that we must be ready to fight. Either we will float a dead whale on the ocean, or we must say to Great Britain, 'Here is where you stop!'"—*Speech of Hon. Joseph Hawley, U. S. Senate; Hamilton Almuni Banquet, N. Y., February*, 1896.

"He" (the British lion) "is a prowler in search of prey which is land—land anywhere, everywhere—land to convert the present boast of possessing one-third of the earth's surface into one of holding one-half, and then two-thirds—land, more land, to extend the tribute to be paid the British crown indefinitely."—*Correspondent of the Springfield Republican.*

"There is no power on the face of the earth that we need fear trouble with except England."—*President Capen, Tuft's College.*

Such then are typical examples of the counts in the international indictment which popular sentiment in the United States now prefers against England: and which leading legislators and influential newspapers assume and assert to be correct. But are they correct? Are they warranted by evidence? The only possible honest answer, having any regard for truth is, that they are not correct; that they do not contain one element that should commend them to the acceptance and belief of honest and intelligent men; not one count, which if tried before an honest and competent tribunal, would 'not by them' (to employ a legal phrase) be promptly "quashed."

In elucidation of this subject, and for determination of the correctness of the above assertions, consideration is first asked to what might fairly be regarded as almost a test case. Thus the leading prejudicial charge preferred against England is, that her governmental and commercial policy and action, is always dominated by a desire to create for herself something in the nature of monopolies; which shall insure to her exclusive advantage; and from participation in which foreign nations shall to the greatest extent possible, be excluded. Accepting now the universal dictionary definition of "monopoly" in the above sense, namely,

"to engross or obtain by any means the exclusive right of trading in any place, and the sole power of vending any commodity or goods in a particular place or country" (Webster); "a right of exclusive sale—an exclusive privilege to carry on a traffic" (Century),

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the writer would respectfully request Messrs. Cullom, Dickinson, Hawley, Lodge, or any other person who agrees with them in sentiment, to specify some one thing in respect to which England enjoys and maintains a monopoly, excepting, of course, the monopoly of sovereignty, in default of which there can be no certain government, or that which is created and exists when a government assumes exclusive control of the production and sale of any article for the purpose of revenue; as when the United States will not permit a gallon of distilled spirits to be removed from the place of its production, or from a bonded warehouse, for use or consumption, without the previous payment of a tax.

A popular and ready answer would probably be "land." But there is not a square foot of the earth's surface over which the flag of England floats which the citizen of the United States, in common with the people of all other countries, has not a right to enter upon and possess and control and enjoy on terms as favorable as are ever granted to any Englishman. The only possible exception to this statement is that England, in common with all colonizing nations that establish governments over lands obtained from barbarous people, often finds it necessary to exercise some restraint over the first occupants of such territory, in order that the desired progress in respect to civilization may not be retarded, and possibly defeated.

A most striking and instructive exemplification of the sovereignty of England in this respect, is found in the recent history of South Africa. Twenty years ago, when the safety of Europeans in South Africa was menaced by a general revolt of the dark skinned races, England assumed the government of the "Transvaal," or South African Republic, a name since given to a large section of country, northeast of Cape Colony; no other government coveting the task or expense of so doing. To provide for the common safety of the various people, who allured by the diamond fields and other inducements were flocking in to it, some rules of government became necessary. And, accordingly, at a so called "Pretorian" convention of South African representatives, assembled in 1881, a code of rules or laws drafted and presented by the British Colonial Office in London, was adopted, and of which the rule XIV. reads as follows: "All persons other than natives (who were then typical savages) conforming themselves to the laws of the South African Republic (*a*) will have

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full liberty, with their families, to enter, travel, or reside in any part of the South African Republic ; (*b*) they will be entitled to hire or possess houses, shops, and premises; (*c*) they may carry on their commerce either in person or by any agents they may think fit to employ ; (*d*) they will not be subject in respect of their persons or property, or in respect of their commerce or industry, to any taxes, whether general or local, other than those which are or may be imposed upon citizens of the said Republic."

But how, it may be asked about trade ? Does not England extend privileges to her own subjects, and impose discriminations against the people of the other nations and countries in respect to trade and commerce ? And here again we are obligated to return a similar answer : namely, that England grants no privileges to her own people in respect to trade and commerce which are not equally accorded to the people of all other countries ; and that there is no country over which the sovereignty of England extends, where the people of all other countries—white, black, yellow and red—have not the right or privilege of trade, in its broadest sense of exporting and importing, buying, selling, or transporting, on terms in any way different from those enjoyed by her immediate and typical subjects.

A brief word here to avoid misapprehension, and in further illustration of the extraordinarily liberal policy of the British (home) government. The sovereignty of England is said to cover about one-third of the earth's surface. It includes forty separate so-called colonies, which embrace about one-fourth of the population of the globe. Whenever the population of any of these colonies becomes considerable, and there is a manifest and intelligent desire on the part of its inhabitants to be emancipated from close dependence on the mother-country, England grants them a substantially free and independent government. A clear and interesting illustration of this is afforded in the case of Canada, which has a population of about 5,000,000. England appoints a Governor, whose duties are mainly ceremonial and nominal. The people of Canada elect their own legislators, their ministers, or state administrators ; and the concurrence of the Crown is not required in the appointment of any public officer below the Governor. Under a government thus organized, Canada makes its own laws ; imposes and collects its own taxes and determines their expenditure ; maintains its own military forces ; establishes

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its own banking and currency system, and its own educational, sanitary and police provisions. One of the few restraining conditions on the complete independence of Canada and the other self-governing colonies of the British empire, is that they are not allowed to treat at first hand with foreign governments; for the evident reason that the smallest as well as the largest of the British possessions, may otherwise involve the Empire in more or less difficult and critical negotiations with foreign powers. The self-governing colonies are not, however, compelled to accept the settlement of any difficulty they may have with a foreign government, which may be recommended to them by their home government; and this has been referred to as the link at which the mooring chains of the larger British colonies to the mother country are most likely (if ever) to snap. As a rule the Home Government is reluctant to intervene in the affairs of her self-governing colonies, without special invitation, except in respect to the selection and control of strategical positions regarded as important for the defence of the Empire. One, and one only (interesting), exception to the rule, that the British colonies shall not treat directly with foreign powers, has been made, and that in the case of Canada; which unquestionably in view of her possible reciprocal trade relations with the United States, is allowed to negotiate directly with the foreign nations in respect to her commercial tariff. Canada, as well as other of the British colonies, having adopted the "protective" policy, accordingly imposes duties on her imports which in some instances are very high, and almost prohibitive. But whatever may be the tariff rates established by Canada, or by any of the other British colonies, they are uniform as respects the imports of all nations; and no discriminating rates would be sanctioned by the Imperial Government in any colonial tariff rates unless to meet an equivalent discrimination. The fact also that the tariff rates of Canada are regarded by the mercantile community of England as prejudicial to their interests, and have long been a subject of complaint, has never induced the Home Government to take action on the subject. Another illustration to the same effect is to be found in the fact that, when the Council of India (the immediate governing power of that country) partly for the purpose of revenue, and partly at the demand of Indian manu-

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facturers for protection, imposed a custom tax on the importation of cotton fabrics into India, the manufacturers of England united in opposition to such an extent that it constituted an important element in the recent election that resulted in the displacement of the Liberal (Rosebery) administration; and yet the Indian duties on the importation of British cotton fabrics have not as yet been abrogated.

The allegation that the British Government exacts tributes of its subjects, has not even so much as a shadow of a foundation. England does not take from any of her citizens or subjects as much as a sixpence which can merit the name of tribute. She expects that such of her colonies as have sought and been accorded the right of self-government will, in the main, defray the expenses of such government. And this they do by such methods of taxation as legislators chosen by them shall determine; subject only to the limitation that the taxes imposed shall be uniform on all persons and on all subjects of trade or commerce. Thus the comparatively small Island of Jamaica, with a population in 1891 of 639,431, of which more than two-thirds are negroes, has a legislative assembly, and by its enactment collects a considerable revenue from export duties on rum. But if an Englishman desires to export this commodity from Jamaica he cannot do it under any more favorable terms than are accorded to a citizen of the United States, or of any other country. Even the very small group of West India Islands known as the "Caymans," with a population of less than five thousand, have their own legislative council, and enact their own laws.

In all of the thirty-one colonies of England which are not self-governing, and in which the Crown has an effective control of legislation, and also over the public officers, special attention is given to popular education; and schools have been established, which as a rule are free and non-sectarian, and are liberally aided by government grants; and attendance upon which is often compulsory. Thus in the island of Jamaica there were in 1892 nearly 900 government schools, besides many private schools. In South Africa—Cape Colony—the British Government makes large annual grants in aid of education in every stage. The number of assisted schools is about one thousand, and in aid of them the government grants about an equal sum with that raised by free and voluntary effort. Industrial training is also specially provided for boys and

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girls of the aboriginal population, of whom about fifty thousand at present are reported as attending school. Even in the much criticised little colony of Honduras, in Central America, with a population of less than 30,000, and the only one of the Central American States south of Mexico that does not habitually revolutionize, the government aids in the keeping up of denominational schools, as none other probably would be countenanced by the people; but subjects them to regular and close inspection. In fact England leads the way in her efforts, independent of creed or sex, to educate the world's population, and probably accomplishes more in this direction than all the rest of the civilized and christianized nations.

A half century ago England at the cost of $100,000,000, and without shedding a drop of blood, abolished slavery; and to-day, wherever the British flag floats in sovereignty no man can, under any circumstances, hold any other man as a slave. A quarter of a century later the United States effected the same result at a cost of several hundred thousand lives, and over nine thousand millions of money, or property.

A reflection is made on England for massacring tribes of black men in Africa with machine guns. But machine guns could never be used for a better purpose than to put a stop at once and forever, as England has done wherever she has sovereignty, to the ancient and horrible savagery of human sacrifices and cannibalism. And when England has once put down savagery, that rendered civilization impossible, her treatment of the subjugated and uncivilized has always been merciful. The conquered Kaffir, or Zulu of South Africa, has become under English rule a freeman; endowed for the first time with an absolute title to land, and other property the results of his own labor; and if injustice is done him, the English courts are open to him for redress and protection as speedily and impartially as to any white man.

The British American colonies have never warred with their Indians; never robbed them of their land, but have always dealt kindly and justly by them. A current proverb in the United States, that the only good Indian is a dead Indian, finds no favor in Canada. England, moreover, is the only nation that has ever established a hospital exclusively for the care of sick or suffering North American Indians. On the other hand, the treatment of

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their Indians by the United States has always been notoriously arbitrary and bad. It has sequestered their land ; arbitrarily abrogated its treaties with them; almost continually provoked them to hostilities, and nearly effected their extermination.

Senator Hawley extends an invitation to the people of the United States to "look at the map of India, and stop and think," for the purpose of understanding "the kind of nation that we are facing" : "for now India is all a British possession." This is most excellent advice. Let us accept it. Before England acquired control of India the mass of her great population was almost as low down in the scale of civilization as it was possible to conceive. From the time of Alexander the Great, and probably for unnumbered centuries before, the experience of the country had been one of constant war and disorder, contingent in great part on foreign invasions, and in part on the bitter antagonism of domestic religious creeds and diversity of races. The Indian ryot (peasant) was practically a slave with no acknowledged right to the products of his labor ; and when any one, of either high or low degree, acquired anything in the way of money-wealth, it was almost the universal practice to speedily secrete it under ground, to prevent its arbitrary plunder on the part of rulers. So that the amount of buried treasure, even to this day, in India, is regarded as almost fabulous. There can be no denial that England acquired control of India in the first instance by conquest and arbitrary methods. But in this respect she acted in accordance with the then accepted policy of all other nations; and as at the time when England mainly acquired possession of India the United States did not exist, and her people were a part of England, and as they did not protest, it is difficult to see how they can now animadvert on the action of England without passing censure on themselves. It is also well to recall that England never did a meaner thing in respect to the acquisition of territory than did the United States in 1848, when, under a claim of might and a higher civilization, she robbed, without justification, and at "one fell swoop," poor Mexico of more than one half of all its territory.

The point of interest in respect to England's connection with India is not what she did a hundred years and more ago, but what she has done within a comparatively recent period, and what she is doing now. Her work of ameliorating the condition

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of her Indian subjects virtually commenced in 1843, when slavery was abolished in all her East Indian possessions, and 12,000,000 people were at once made free. To-day the humblest Indian peasant is secure in the possession and control of his property, and if wronged in any way can appeal to and find protection in the courts which England has established. As one result of this policy the buried treasures of India are beginning to come forth and seek investment in England's interest-bearing securities. Under native and Mogul rulers, the only compulsory contribution from the Indian people, worthy of the name of a tax, was an assessment on land, which averaged about 12 shillings per acre. To-day the land tax of India, which the government has been obliged to maintain for general revenue purposes, does not average more than 2 shillings per acre. Before England assumed dominion in India, the system of exaction of her native rulers was so perfected that they were assured of the very last penny that could be taken from the farmers and cattle raisers without stripping them of everything; leaving to the tenant class little other than the privilege of living. To-day the existing system of taxation in India, is conceded to be, at least, eminently just. Men of native races constitute a part of the highest Indian judiciary; and by an act affirmed by the Imperial Government it has been ordained "that no native of the territories of India, or any natural born subject of Great Britain resident therein, shall by reason of his religion, birth, descent, color, or any one of them, be disabled from any place, office, or employment under its government." Under native rule the population of India was kept down by war and local feuds to a great extent; but under the British rule of peace it has increased to a degree so disproportionate to existing agricultural resources, that famines are often contingent on the deficiency of crops through natural influences. To meet such a lamentable condition of affairs the British Government has reserved from its annual revenues, and so created, a large "famine fund," which is solely applicable to relieving popular distress occasioned by a scarcity of food. Has anything like this ever been done by any other civilized and Christianized Government? In fact, it is not too much to say that the present population of India would not have found food under any previous government of that country; and that its very existence has been made possible only through the

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conditions of food production and distribution established by England's government.

Popular education in India is systematically promoted by England; and the number of schools supported or aided by public funds, and controlled by departments of education in every province, is now upwards of 150,000; rising from elementary village schools to high schools and colleges.

Since the Indian mutiny in 1857 the government has expended a large amount—at present many millions per annum—on works of public utility for the purpose of increasing and cheapening (through roads, canals, and railroads) the means of transportation, for promoting irrigation, and especially for favoring the use of new tools and new methods for cultivating the soil. The result of this policy has been greatly to increase the annual food product of the country and the opportunities for the industrial employment of its people. Thus in 1880 India exported less than 500,000 bushels of wheat, but at the present time her annual export is not less than 30,000,000 bushels.

One blessing which the British occupation of India has given the world should not be overlooked. Formerly all cinchona-bark, from which quinine is manufactured, came from the forests of the northwestern states of South America; and as the cinchona trees were not under any system of cultivation, and as the methods of collecting their bark were destructive of the tree, it was easy to see that, under a continually increasing demand, this most important natural product would soon be exhausted. Moved by such considerations the government of England determined to make the attempt to cultivate the cinchona tree in India, and, calling in the aid of the best botanists, finally succeeded in so doing, although a previous like effort on the part of the Dutch government had failed in Java. The result has been that the supply of quinine is now practically inexhaustible; and in place of being formerly worth its weight in gold, its price is now brought within the means of the poorest people, who most need it. How British Indian quinine has become an instrumentality of war, as well as of peace, is shown by the fact that the French in Madagascar, and the Spaniards in Cuba, have recently deemed an adequate supply of it as essential as that of shot or shell.

In short there is no government in the world whose administration is more honestly conducted, and which is doing more for

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the material good of the governed, than the present English government of India. And the secret of England's success in ruling the vast congeries of people known as India, a fifth of the population of the globe—288,000,000 in 1891—made up of different races and religions, and with eighty different languages, lies mainly in the fact that in no country, except America and Great Britain and her colonies, is the individual so little interfered with by the government. No kind of pressure is put upon the Indian to be anything but what he pleases. He is exempt from military conscription. He may profess what religion he likes; express any opinion; enjoy the right of public meeting, and can criticise the government freely without fear of consequences. And the attitude of the government towards its subjects in later years has been always one of help and encouragement.

Another even more instructive illustration of the treatment and policy of the government of England in respect to her subjects or dependents, is to be found in the recent experience of Egypt. Previous to the English protectorate, consequent upon the suppression of the rebellion under Arabi-Pasha in 1882, the condition of the country was wretched almost beyond conception. Its revenue system, in accordance with Asiatic ideas, comprehended nearly every form of iniquitous extortion. Under the rule of Ismail-Pasha (the Khedive who built the Suez Canal with the enforced and unpaid labor of his subjects), the acknowledged revenue annually collected from less than 5,000,000 population was about £16,000,000 ($80,000,000); while apart from this sum, the amount that was wrung from the miserable peasantry, which never found its way into any official ledger, was also very considerable. The first thing an English finance committee of experts effected, was to reduce the annual taxation of $80,000,000 to $50,000,000, which, apart from money terms, included a sum total of vexatious and petty exactions that cannot well be expressed in figures. The results of a continuance of this policy by England has been almost without precedent in the world's fiscal history. At no previous period since Egypt began to have a name has the fellah lived under a government so careful to protect his rights. For the first time he is allowed to control the fruits of his labor. To-day under England's rule he knows exactly the amount of taxes he has to pay, and when he has to pay them;

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and that when he has once paid the legal amount, no official, big or small, has a right to extort from him one single piastre beyond it. He knows, too, that he cannot at any moment be seized and dragged off as formerly, to perhaps some different part of the country, to work under constant dread of the whip, at any task suggested by the caprice of the Khedive, or of some powerful Pasha. Under such circumstances Egypt has never, certainly not within a recent period, enjoyed so large a measure of prosperity. Notwithstanding the recent universal decline in price of agricultural staples, the Egyptian products and exports of cotton, sugar, tobacco, wheat, etc., have rapidly increased; the annual value of its cotton crop having risen, even under falling prices, from $37,000,000 in 1888 to $48,000,000 in 1894. When England first occupied the country the four per cent. Egyptian debt securities were quoted at about 50. To-day their quotation is over 100, and their European holders have been willing to reduce their rate of interest by nearly one-half.

Fifty years ago the accusations now preferred by Messrs. Cullom, Dickinson, Hawley, Lodge, Chandler, Capen, and others, against England for greed, "grab-all" and "monopoly" policies, had undoubtedly some foundation. At that time the whole commercial policy of England, and of all other countries claiming to be in any degree civilized, was based on the theory that commerce could benefit one country only to the extent that it injured another; and that it was the part of wisdom always to secure a favorable balance of trade by selling as much and buying as little as possible, and receiving pay for what was sold, not in other useful products, but in gold. And this is the theory that to-day characterizes the commerce and trade policy of all nations—especially the United States—except England. Forty odd years ago England came to the conclusion that her supremacy over the earth could best be attained by supremacy in trade rather than by the supremacy of the sword, and that the exclusive trade of any colony or people that has to be fought for costs more than it is all worth. And between 1845 and 1856 she inaugurated this latter policy by substantially removing all restrictions on the trade and commerce of her own immediate people, *i. e.*, of the United Kingdom. And, what is generally overlooked, she gave also to the three hundred millions of other people over which her sovereignty extends the privilege of ac-

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cording or refusing reciprocal action. In this respect England stands alone. No other nation that has ever existed, or now exists, has ever adopted a similar policy. The following illustrations exemplify it.

India has been made the subject of reference. But England does not control all of India. The Portuguese, who were the pioneers in Eastern conquest, still retain a dominion over about 1,500 square miles on the west coast of Hindostan, and its native inhabitants are now in revolt. Portugal has sent a military force from Europe to suppress it, and its Governor in command has made proclamation to the rebels that, unless they lay down their arms, means will be taken for their extermination, that villages will be burnt or destroyed in succession, and all in arms will be liable to be shot. The people of British India are at peace; and, if the Portuguese rebels are successful, they will probably like nothing better than to come under the sovereignty of England. Since the great rebellion in 1857, the military forces of England in India have not been employed except to compel the barbarous people on her frontiers—the Afghans and the Chirals—to keep the peace. And the cause of this famous mutiny is now well known to have been due mainly to an assumption on the part of the Sepoys, not that they were politically oppressed, but that they were obliged to grease their cartridges with the fat of the accursed swine.

It is alleged that if the United States does not speedily annex the Hawaiian Islands, England or some other European power will grab them. Let us see what certainly would happen if the United States, or any of the great European powers, except England, should grab. The first thing that they would do would be to draw a line about the islands, restricting to a great degree all commercial intercourse between them and other nations. If the policy advocated by Mr. McKinley were to prevail, the restriction on the part of the United States, would amount almost to prohibition. If France were to grab them, her commercial regulations would probably be patterned after the provisions for conquered Madagascar, which make that great island an almost exclusive French province, and absolutely prohibit the importation of great staple articles from any other country than France and her colonies. The recent imposition by France of adverse and discriminating duties on shoes imported from the United States

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would also probably be made operative in Hawaii. If Russia should obtain possession of these islands, and establish her home policy over them, none other than a Russian could obtain a freehold title to any land. No importations would be allowed that Russian producers would like to supply; no language would be officially tolerated except Russian, and no religion except that of the Greek Church. The government would be in the highest degree despotic. If Spain grabbed we know what her policy would be from the experience of Cuba. On the other hand, if the island should pass under the sovereignty of England, restrictions on trade and commerce, foreign and domestic, would be reduced to a minimum; popular government, in which all nationalities would participate, would be established, with English common law as its basis; the rights of the natives, as well as of all other citizens, would be guarded; and, above all, a national sanitary system, copied from that of India, the best in the world, and admirably adapted to the fifteen different races which recent anthropological investigations have shown are now being propagated in the islands, would be speedily introduced.

The bearing also of the commercial policy of England upon the Venezuelean question, which thus far has hardly attracted the attention of the people of the United States, is really the only involved point that materially affects their interest, and as such is more worthy of their serious consideration than any other. As is well known, there have been repeated attempts to settle the difficulties between England and Venezuela by arbitration, and that all of them have thus far resulted in failure. For what reason? Obviously not from disagreement about the partition of sovereignty over a tract of tropical wilderness, which no white man would ever care to permanently live in, and which there is no probability that Venezuela with its sparse and mongrel population would ever attempt to colonize, or properly and peacefully govern. Apart from certain minor considerations, the real reason of disagreement has been, that England wants free navigation of the Orinoco, and Venezuela does not. This is acknowledged to have been the main reason why the last attempt of England under the recent administration of Lord Rosebery. failed. But any doubt on this point ought to be at once removed by reference to an official letter, which, singularly, hitherto has almost escaped popular attention, addressed under date

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of February 17, 1890, by Señor Paraza, then Venezuelan Minister at Washington, to Mr. Blaine, the then United States Secretary of State, in which he says: *If Great Britain is allowed to control the Orinoco "her vessels would enter the mouth of that river, and would carry to the great centres of population her production, her ideas and her exclusive interest;"* and to prevent such a result, which according to Señor Paraza, "would render nugatory the efforts that are now being made by the nations of America to draw closer their family bonds and have one and the same destiny," he begs Mr. Blaine to request Great Britain to settle her differences with Venezuela.

That in case of the control of the Orinoco by Great Britain her vessels would enter the mouth of that river, and carry her productions, her ideas and her interests, cannot be doubted. But Great Britain has never sought any exclusive control of the Orinoco. She has only sought to have it made free to the commerce of all nations; and if she were to obtain control, she would not claim or exercise any exclusive privileges over that river, any more than she claims and exercises exclusive privileges over the St. Lawrence, the Nile, the Ganges, the Indus or the Irrawaddy, all of which she territorially controls.

On the other hand, the letter of Señor Paraza warrants the assumption that Venezuela does not want the Orinoco to be free, but exclusive to herself, for the purpose of gain through some form of money exaction on the commerce that desires to use it, and with the expectation that this privilege of exclusive control will at no distant day be accorded to her, mainly through the agency of the United States. She has already chartered a purely speculative company looking to a monopoly of the river and its adjacent territory, of which the President of Venezuela is reported as one of the largest stockholders.

The real and only issue of importance in this problem of Venezuela to the people of the United States is, will they unite with the British Government in securing to all nations the perpetual right to the free commercial use of this mighty river, which constitutes the only available access to the great northern interior of South America; or allow its control to pass to a government which is one of the most unstable of all countries; whose commerce is little more than barter; which has no banking system, and whose history is one monotonous record of

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revolutions accomplished through bloodshed, and a remarkable ferocity on the part of all antagonizing political parties? Peace and safety to the citizens of the United States is certainly not likely to be assured by any such action on the part of their government. It is the old contest again between barbarism and civilization; with a marked tendency on the part of the United States to favor barbarism, with its most certain concomitant of war.

In conclusion the general result of England's governmental and commercial policy may be thus fairly and comprehensively stated.

Wherever her sovereignty has gone, two blades of grass have grown where one grew before. Her flag wherever it has been advanced has benefited the country over which it floats; and has carried with it civilization, the Christian religion, order, justice and prosperity. England has always treated a conquered race with justice, and what under her rule is the law for the white man is the law for his black, red and yellow brother. And here we have one explanation of the fact that England alone of the nations has been successful in establishing and maintaining colonies: and of the further extraordinary fact that a comparatively small insular country, containing less than 40,000,000 inhabitants, can successfully preside over the destinies of about 360,000,000 other members of the human race. England would never have told a neighboring country, desiring reciprocal trade relations, as the United States told Mexico, in 1866, through its House of Representatives, "that to speak of permanent desirable commercial relations" with her "is without hope of success, or promise of substantial results."

What an endorsement of the honesty of England and its people is involved in the reported and probable fact, that the Church of Rome makes that non-Catholic country and its much abused bankers, its fiduciary guardian of the fiscal resources necessary for the maintenance of its vast missionary enterprises and other religious objects, and which experience has shown cannot be intrusted with an equal degree of confidence to any other country. And a similar action and belief on the part of other foreign purse-holders, accounts undoubtedly in a large degree for the low rate of interest on money capital in England (British 2¾ per cent. Consols, rising to 110 in

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February last), and the unvarying great demand for her national securities.

But some may here ask: How about the wrongs and abuses of Ireland and her people on the part of England. The answer is that they originated in an old-time theory, once accepted and practised by all nations, that might makes right, and that differences in religious belief warrant persecution and a debarment from all participation in government. And it is this policy that has entailed a condition of affairs in Ireland that has not been easy to remedy. But England now leads the way among the nations in the utter repudiation of this policy, and the day cannot be far distant when the grievances of Ireland will be amicably and satisfactorily settled by her. And that real progress in this direction has been attained is proved by the fact that no subject of England in Ireland, or any other country under her sovereignty, is now debarred from participating in her government by reason of his religious belief, which is more than can be affirmed of the condition of affairs in some other countries claiming to be free, christianized, and civilized.

If the Englishman is unbending and determined to have his way, such characteristics are due to the Anglo-Saxon element in him; and this as participated in by the people of the United States has been the main cause of their development and prosperity as a nation.

The reason why England is hated by other nations is because she is feared, and she is feared mainly by reason of the success of her commercial policy, which has brought her not only wealth, but strength. She is envied, too, by unsuccessful rivals in common industrial fields. But the United States as a nation is hated and distrusted in an equal degree. There is not a government on the American continent, except Canada and Venezuela, that does not both fear and hate her; and if the United States decides in favor of the free navigation of the Orinoco the latter will speedily be accounted among her most bitter enemies. All countries save England, and possibly Russia and Japan, would rejoice at the dissolution of the Federal Union.

The United States now stands at the parting of the ways. Shall she by antagonism with England bring about for herself a national isolation, with the inevitable result of dwarfing the intellectual and industrial energies of her people; or by strength-

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ening the bonds of peace and friendship with England, unite the two foremost and most progressive nations of the world for the joint attainment of those results that constitute national greatness? If it were certain, as it probably is, that England will continue her present commercial policy, it would be for the true interests of the United States that England should further extend her sovereignty over the surface of the earth; for then the people of the United States would have the privilege of unrestricted trade with all the land and all subjects of England without the expense of governing them.

Some years since in a social conversation with one of the ablest men that England ever sent to represent her diplomatically at Washington, the question was put to him: "Do you think that war between the United States and England is ever again likely to occur?" The answer was promptly: "Considering the many ties and common interests that unite the two nations, such an occurrence does not seem possible." Then, hesitating for a moment, he continued: "But when I consider the resources, energy and skill of your people, the thought sometimes occurs to me, that if the United States were to adopt the commercial policy of England she might so crowd us out of the markets of the world, on which my countrymen so largely depend for industrial employment and support, that England might have to fight for her existence."

If, now, this adventitious supposition on the part of this wise English diplomat is warranted, it would seem to be wisdom on the part of such of the people of the United States as hate England and desire to humiliate her, to adopt as soon as possible her commercial policy.

DAVID A. WELLS.

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POSSIBLE COMPLICATIONS OF THE CUBAN QUESTION.

BY MAYO W. HAZELTINE.

IS A WAR between the United States and Spain among the probabilities of the near future? Should such a contest prove unavoidable, would Spain be able to secure an ally among the European powers? Assuming that she obtained the aid of a strong naval power, should we in our turn require assistance, and, if so, whence would it come? These are questions which diplomatists have been discussing for some time, and they are beginning to force themselves upon the whole American community. We believe that a review of the international situation will show that the drift of events is likely to force the Madrid Government to declare war against this country, and that it will strive to gain the active co-operation of either France or Germany, but that the effort will fail through the interposition of either Russia or England, both of which powers desire the good will of the United States.

I.

IF, before the Cuban insurrection became the subject of debate in Congress, the President had issued a proclamation announcing that a state of war existed in Cuba, and enjoining the observance of a strict neutrality between the belligerents, the revolutionists would have acquired the desired status of belligerency, while the Madrid Government would have had no reasonable ground for objecting to the declaration. Mr. Cleveland would have simply made a statement of fact, attested by the necessity of maintaining over 100,000 soldiers in Cuba, and by the explicit acknowledgment on the part of Prime Minister Canovas del Castillo that the island is the scene of "civil war." But our Executive

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has thus far refrained from recognizing the Cuban insurgents as belligerents, in this respect conforming to the precedent set by General Grant, who, although the former Cuban rebellion lasted through both of his administrations, steadily refused to give its promoters the status of belligerency. In the present case, however, the silence of the President has had consequences which, perhaps, were not anticipated. It has provoked so zealous an advocacy of the Cuban cause throughout this country, and such fervid expressions of opinion in Congress, that now, in the eyes of the American people, and of the Spanish people as well, a recognition of belligerency has acquired a significance which, normally, a mere statement of fact would not possess. It has come to be felt on both sides of the Atlantic that in this instance a recognition of belligerency would be introductory to a recognition of independence, which is a very different thing, and would undoubtedly constitute a *casus belli*. Indeed, the resolutions, which, at the hour when we write, seem on the point of being adopted by Congress, not only declare that a state of war entitling both parties to the technical status of belligerents exists in Cuba, but request the President to use his good offices to secure the recognition of Cuba's independence by Spain. It is true that the resolutions are not "joint," but "concurrent" in form, and, therefore, in accordance with a practice which has grown up in apparent disregard of an express requirement of the Constitution, the President may treat them as if they had not been passed. Such was the fate of the Armenian resolutions, but if the same course were pursued toward the wishes expressed by Congress in regard to Cuba there is but little doubt that joint resolutions, of which the Executive would have to take note, could be carried through both Houses. It is even probable that, if disapproved by the President, they could be passed over the veto. In that event we may take for granted that the will of Congress would be obeyed by the Chief Magistrate. But an offer on the part of Mr. Cleveland to mediate between Spain and the Cuban insurgents, even if accompanied with a proposal to guarantee the payment of a large sum of money as the price of Cuban independence, could not, in the existing state of public feeling in Spain, be accepted by the Madrid Government without exciting a popular uprising, which not only would cause the downfall of the present Ministry, but would endanger the monarchy. We

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may, therefore, assume that the offer would not merely be rejected, but rejected in such terms as would add to the irritation already exhibited by Congress, and impel that body to take the decisive step of acknowledging the independence of the Cuban republic. If this were not promptly followed by a declaration of war upon the part of Spain, the Cabinet headed by Señor Canovas del Castillo would be replaced by another, which would reflect more faithfully the resentment of the Spanish people. But no intelligent Spaniard can be under any illusions as to the outcome of the trial of strength thus challenged, provided the contest were confined to Spain and the United States. Not only would Cuba be lost, but Spain has other insular possessions of which, were she beaten at sea, she might be deprived. We refer, of course, to Porto Rico, to the Canary Islands, to the Philippine Archipelago, and to the Balearic Isles, one of which, Minorca, was once held by England for a considerable period.

II.

WITH so much at stake, the Madrid Government would undoubtedly make the most strenuous endeavors to secure the aid of one of the great maritime powers of Europe. It is easy to foresee that Spain in her extremity would address herself with special earnestness to Germany and France. If her retention of Cuba were guaranteed by the German Emperor, Spain could afford to gratify his hunger for colonial possessions by a cession of the Caroline Islands in the Pacific, and of the Canaries in the Atlantic. Sooner than abandon the Queen of the Antilles to the revolutionists or to the United States, the Spanish people might even be willing to sell or give Cuba itself to a European ally. By resorting to such an expedient they would but do what France did in 1763, when she ceded Louisiana to Spain, and what Spain herself did, when some forty years later she retroceded that vast territory to France. There is a much later precedent for such a method of slaking national vindictiveness and safeguarding national pride. In 1866, after the battle of Sadowa, the Emperor Francis Joseph, although anxious to make peace with Prussia, refused to relinquish Venetia to Victor Emanuel, but insisted upon ceding it, instead, to France. We can see, then, that Spain could offer the German Emperor some tempting bribes for his assistance. Nevertheless we do not be-

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lieve that he would enter into such a bargain. The interests of German producers, manufacturers and life insurers have sometimes come in conflict with those of American rivals in business, but, personally, Kaiser William II. has always shown himself extremely friendly toward the United States. He would feel, too, that, owing to the enormous influx of German emigrants into this country since 1848, a war between Germany and the American republic would be only second in fratricidal horror to a war between the United States and England. We assume, therefore, that, although the Berlin Government might express disapproval of our offer to mediate between Spain and the Cuban insurgents, and more emphatically of our recognition of Cuba's independence, it would abstain from giving Spain any material aid.

We wish we could speak with equal confidence about the attitude of France. At first sight, no doubt, it seems incredible that French republicans would abjure their historical affection for the people of the United States, and place their navy at the disposal of a reactionary monarchy for the purpose of riveting its hold upon an island, the natives of which, in time of peace, are subjected to odious exactions, and in war time are treated with shocking barbarity. Could the whole body of French voters be consulted beforehand by a *plebiscite*, we believe that it would visit such a project with overwhelming reprobation. Unfortunately, when we speak of what France might be induced to do, we have to remember that her action would be determined by a majority of the present Chamber of Deputies. Now, it is notorious that men accused or suspected of being implicated in the Panama Canal and Southern Railway scandals are exceedingly influential in the Opportunist party—which, until recently, had from 1878 controlled the Chamber, and may at any hour regain control of it. The danger then would be that French capitalists, who have already made large investments in Spanish securities, might be induced to launch another Spanish loan, the interest upon which should be guaranteed by a mortgage of the revenues of the quicksilver mines at Almaden and of the tobacco monopoly. It is not likely that the Madrid Government would consent thus to incumber its last valuable resources without obtaining a promise that the mortgagees would use every effort to procure the co-operation of the French republic with Spain against the United

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States. Prolonged experience has shown that it would not be difficult to enlist a majority of the Paris newspapers, and many conspicuous Deputies and ex-Ministers, in behalf of any enterprise backed by free-spending financiers. Nor would there be wanting specious arguments for a coalition of France with Spain. The latter country would doubtless offer to renounce in favor of France her pretensions to Morocco. It might be urged also that the encouragement, given by the United States to Cuba to-day, might be offered to a revolt in the French West Indian possessions to-morrow, or to a Brazilian invasion of territory claimed by French Guiana. Nor should it be forgotten that whatever plausibility such pleas, backed by secret bribes, might now have, is liable to be enhanced at any hour through a successful uprising of republicans in Spain, which is now denuded of most of the regular army hitherto relied upon to uphold the monarchy. As between a Spanish republic and the United States, it is to be feared that certain Opportunist leaders would not hesitate to side with the former, provided the operation promised to prove as lucrative as did their connection with the Panama Canal. As the Opportunists are masters of the Senate, it would only be needful to recover the ascendency in the Chamber of Deputies, which until lately they possessed, in order to array in defence of Spain the French navy, which, next to that of England, is the most powerful on earth.

Nevertheless, although the Opportunists should regain control of the Chamber, and be willing, for reasons of their own, to answer the appeal of the Spaniards, we believe that they would be restrained by the veto of another European power. It is improbable that the Emperor of Russia at such a conjuncture would abjure the age-long friendship of the House of Romanoff for this country, a friendship which has been proved more than once in worst extremes. Besides, if France is to be his coadjutor in the great European war which has been so long thought to be impending, it is of paramount interest to him that her naval as well as military strength should be preserved intact. He would be as much averse to seeing French ironclads imperilled in a needless contest with the United States as are the two central powers to beholding the troops of their Italian ally wasted in Abyssinia. Our conclusion is that, were a combination with Spain to be so much as mooted in the French Chamber

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of Deputies, the Czar, through his ambassador at Paris, would interpose a remonstrance so strenuous that the scheme would be at once abandoned.

III.

LET us assume, however, for the sake of argument, that the Czar might fail us in our emergency, and that the purchased tools of Spain might seem upon the point of seducing French republicans into a league with the Spanish monarchy, for the purpose of suppressing the Cuban insurrection and of punishing the United States for their expression of sympathy for the insurgents. It is possible that even then, when our demonstrations in the cause of humanity and liberty had brought us to the verge of a fight against great odds, we might not find ourselves without a friend. That friend might prove to be Great Britain, although three months ago, during the fortnight succeeding the publication of Mr. Cleveland's Venezuela message, such a supposition would have seemed absurd. But no reasonable American can have marked the amazing revolution in British public opinion and public feeling since New Year's Day; no one can have observed the willingness now exhibited to admit that Mr. Cleveland was right in thinking that the whole boundary question ought to be submitted to arbitration—a willingness exemplified not only by the Liberal opposition, but seemingly by the Unionist Government as well—no one, we repeat, an have noted these things, without recognizing the signs of a respect for the United States which, although tardy, is profound; and also of a good will which, while not spontaneous or universal, seems certainly to have become predominant. It is never too late to mend, and who shall say that wise British ministers, who have undergone a change of heart, might not bring forth fruits meet for repentance, and seize a precious opportunity to extirpate at a stroke the seeds of rancor planted in American breasts by British maltreatment and contempt experienced by us at divers times since the acknowledgment of our independence. Who shall say that the British Government might not announce to wavering France that Americans have done less for Cuba than Englishmen did for Greece, and that in proclaiming sympathy for the strugglers against Spanish oppression, we have deserved well of mankind. In the face of such a magnanimous announcement from the greatest naval power upon the globe, we

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should hear no more of disgraceful schemes to array the ironclads of French republicans against the Cuban combatants for liberty, and against the American republic. That in the discharge of a high duty we might be for a moment menaced with a corrupt and shameless European combination, may well be the secret wish of many a far-sighted Englishman, for then, with one peremptory word, his country might redress the past, and earn the deathless gratitude of what was once her daughter State.

When one considers how easy it would be to secure the good will of the United States, and of what value their good will might prove one day to England, one can but marvel that no resolute and skillful effort has been made to gain it. Not that of late there have been wanting Englishmen who have seemed to comprehend what such a friendly understanding might eventually mean. We have in mind not only Mr. Goldwin Smith, who has been a life-long advocate of the reunion of the Anglo-Saxon race, and such representative Liberals as Sir William Vernon Harcourt and Mr. John Morley, but also Mr. A. J. Balfour, the leader of the Unionist government in the House of Commons. On the reassembling of Parliament, in the course of the debate on the address, Mr. Balfour invoked the spirit of Edmund Burke to plead for a reunion of the English and American branches of the Anglo-Saxon stock, and he averred that, could Great Britain secure the alliance of the United States, she would fear no foreign foe. Unquestionably Burke would have liked to see England and her lost American Colonies brought once more together, but one of Burke's contemporaries not only desired that consummation, but perceived how to accommodate the means to the end. We refer to Lord Shelburne, who for a time directed the negotiations which preceded the treaty of peace concluded in 1783 between Great Britain and the United States. To Lord Shelburne it seemed clear that, if the terms of peace were marked by the largest confidence and liberality, no difficulty would be experienced in speedily welding the two countries together anew by a community of sentiment and interest. He was inclined to the opinion that, if the colonies were to be renounced, they should be treated with a generosity which would leave no room for friction in the future, and which, by bringing the instinct of kinship into active play, would soon effect a union of hearts. To that end he personally would have been disposed to cede all the British possessions on

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the North American continent to the thirteen colonies, transformed into the United States. Had this been done, no student of history can doubt that an intimate alliance between England and her daughter commonwealth would have been formed in 1798, when war with France appeared inevitable. As it was, the pro-British reaction straightway acquired such momentum in the north-eastern states that George Cabot declared that England was fighting the battle of the civilized world, and the Federal Senate, though it went against the grain, accepted the Jay treaty; while later, in the war of 1812, New England was driven to the brink of secession, partly by the ruin of her commerce, but partly also through sympathy for the mother country. Even now, in spite of certain regrettable acts committed by British soldiers in the United States during the war just named, and in spite of the satisfaction with which some influential English statesmen seemed to look forward to the destruction of the Union by the civil war, it would be practicable for England to win the cordial good will and co-operation of the American Republic by reverting to Shelburne's programme. It must be admitted, however, that England could scarcely transfer her costly and useless possessions on the American mainland to the United States, until the inhabitants of the Dominion of Canada had pronounced in favor of such a measure. There is, however, yet another expedient to which England might have recourse. It is at least conceivable that we may be threatened by a hostile European coalition, because we have determined to discharge our debt to civilization by insisting that to the Cuban revolutionists shall not be refused the rights secured to belligerents by the rules of modern warfare. Let us suppose that in a crisis of that kind the message should be flashed under the Atlantic that in the cause of humanity and liberty England would not suffer us to stand alone. No man could deny that such a message would be a splendid proof of the sincerity of England's friendship, and we might then in truth believe in our possession of "kinsmen beyond sea."

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PYGMY RACES OF MEN.

BY PROF. FREDERICK STARR, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THAT the writers of Greece and Rome in several passages refer to Pygmies is well known. In his book, *Les Pygmées*, De Quatrefages collects these various passages and attempts to identify the little peoples mentioned with populations still in existence. He quotes six writers—Homer, Aristotle, Pliny, Ctesias, Pomponius Mela and Herodotus. Part of what these authors said of pygmies is plainly fabulous, but there must have been some ground for their assertions. That these little men fought with the storks, as Homer claimed, may not be true; that they had a special breed of little horses may be unlikely; but that dwarf populations existed in antiquity and were known outside of their own district appears certain. It is not desirable to quote here from all of these authors, but a statement made by the "father of history," interesting in itself, has bearing upon some recent discoveries and discussions. Herodotus learned of "certain pilgrims of Cyrene, who had received their information from Etearchus, King of the Ammonians. This ruler had told them that a number of young Nasamonians had conceived the idea of exploring the deserts of Libya. Five of them, selected by lot, started out with food and water. After traversing the inhabited country, they passed through a wild region and entered the desert, traveling ever westward. After several days' marching through deep sands they perceived some trees rising in the midst of a field. Approaching these they began to eat of the fruits upon them. Thereupon they were surprised by a great number of little men, much below the average height, who seized them and dragged them away. They spoke a language unknown to the Nasamonians and could not understand that spoken by these. The young men were conducted across a country intersected by many marshes

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into a town whose inhabitants were black. Before this town flowed a considerable stream, whose course was from west to east, and there were crocodiles therein." De Quatrefages believed this stream to be the Niger between the first and the fourth degree, west longitude. He says: "In view of the precision of Herodotus and of the agreement which his story presents with material facts of a permanent character, it is necessary to admit either that the little race seen by the Nasamonians still exists north of the Niger, but has not been discovered, or else that it has disappeared from these regions." He himself decides upon the latter alternative and identifies these pygmies with the Akkas or other peoples now further south and west. We shall later find reason to disagree with this conclusion.

After presenting all the data from ancient writers, our author summarizes the discussion as follows: "The ancients had information more or less inexact, more or less incomplete, but also more or less true, concerning five populations of little stature, from whom they made their pygmies. Two were situated in Asia; the third toward the sources of the Nile; the fourth toward the East, but not far from the preceding; the fifth still in Africa, but entirely in the southwest, in a region where only the Nasamonians appear to have penetrated. Two of these groups, more or less reduced, more or less altered by crossing, are still located in Asia. The three African groups, in our days, are found at a distance from Greece or Rome greater than the tradition states, but situated very nearly in the same direction."

It has not been easy for people in these recent times to believe that pygmies still live. Schweinfurth found Akkas at the court of Munza, King of the Monbuttu; he later saw a band of several hundred of these wee folk; from the king he secured a little man named *Nsevoué* in exchange for a dog: the poor little fellow died ere they left Africa. The great German traveller told all of this, but it was to a faithless band of readers. Du Chaillu found the little Obongos, with their yellow brown skin and tufted hair, dwelling in their odd little huts in the Ashango country; his account was quite generally considered a story for children. Other travellers reported little people in other parts of the Dark Continent, but made no impression. Even the presence of three living Akkas in Europe made few converts. Miani secured two Akkas by trade and bequeathed them to the Italian Geographical Society.

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They were both males, were called *Tebo* and *Chairallah*, and were carefully reared by Count Miniscalchi Erizzo. The third specimen was a woman named *Saïda*, who was sent to Italy by Gessi Pasha. All of these lived in Europe for years and were most carefully studied. But when Stanley met a goodly number of Akkas, Vouatouas, etc., the fickle public finally accepted the African pygmies. Dr. Verneau divides the pygmy people of Africa into four geographical groups. To present his table will indicate how considerable a number of these little populations are known to some degree in the Dark Continent:

1. *Senegambian Group:* Located in the curve of the Rio Grande, in lat. 10° N., long. 14° W.
2. *Gaboon Group:* Matimbas, Mimos (= Bakke-bakkes, Baboukos, Babongos, Mamoukos).
   Akoas.
   M'Boulous (= Chekianis, Osiekanis).
   Obongos (= Bongos).
   N'Javis.
   Apindjis (= Pindjis).
   Okotas.
   Okoas.
3. *Central Group:* Vouatouas (= Batouas).
   Akkas.
4. *Wellean Group:* Wa Berrikimos (= Cincalles).
   Malas (= Maze malleas).

Some of these names may prove to be synonyms. So many travellers have written with vagueness that some confusion exists. Of all the African pygmies the best known are certainly the Akkas. Descriptions of them are easily accessible. It may, however, be in place to summarize the latest account of them, by Stuhlmann, who has himself seen them and who writes in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* for 1893. He describes them as averaging 1.25 metres in stature, with light brown skin tinged with reddish-yellow. They have a round head, flat nose, prognathic face, woolly brown hair. The beard is scanty, but a growth of light down-like hairs covers the whole body. They are characterized by a penetrating and disagreeable odor. In character they are cunning and cruel, with thievish propensities and many childish traits. They live in slight temporary shelters, and dress scantily in leaves, etc. They have no characteristic tattooing and no ornaments, but sometimes bore the upper lip. They are hunters, and use the bow and poisoned arrows. Though sometimes cannibals, they are so but to a moderate degree.

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The term *negrillo* has been suggested for the totality of pygmy peoples of Africa. The term *negrito* is applied to the little peoples of Asia. Like the *negrillos* the tribes are rarely found over large continuous areas, but "are almost always isolated, one from another, as if submerged in the midst of populations of very different ethnic origins." They also usually occupy the least favorable districts in the countries where they are found. They exist both over a continental and an insular area. On the continent they are found from the Malacca peninsula and Annam to the Western Ghauts and from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas. In the island area they range from the southeast part of New Guinea to the Andaman Islands in the Indian Ocean and from the Sunda Islands to Japan. In many places they are badly crossed with larger neighbors, but the combination of four characters—small stature, dark skin, woolly hair, short round skulls—in any considerable number of individuals in a given region, suffices to indicate their presence.

The Aetas of Luzon and the other Philippine Islands are a well marked type. Throughout the Malay Peninsula and northward are peoples, like the Semangs and Sakeis, with *negrito* characteristics. Campbell considers certain aborigines of India, with "figure short and slight, complexion black, hair tufted, curly or even woolly" as *negritos*, and so, no doubt, are some of the Dravidians. The purest type, however, is found in the Mincopies of the Andaman Islands. The best authority regarding them is Mr. Man, an Englishman, who spent years in contact with them, learning their language and knowing their life intimately. So unmixed are they that they present a striking uniformity in form and features. Their average stature appears to fall below 1.4 metres. In them the head is large, taking up one-seventh part of the whole stature. The body is well formed and the muscles not badly developed. The hands and feet are small and delicate. The skin is black and the hair is black and woolly. The head is usually kept shaved, but it is probable that the hair, if left, would appear to grow in tufts. The head is short and rounded; the cheeks are somewhat broad; the eyes are round, protruding, quite widely separated, hard and brilliant; the nose is sunken at the root, is straight and short, the nostrils narrow and little separated; the lips are not very thick, and the lower face does not project forward so markedly as in the negro.

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These little people are said to be active and vigorous. They are strong, can run fairly, and shoot well, using bows that require much strength in the stringing. They are, however, short-lived. They speak an agglutinative language, abounding in affixes and suffixes. They live in little communities of from twenty-five to fifty persons with a chief, who has little power. Although there is considerable sex freedom before marriage, there is great propriety afterward. Monogamy prevails and there is great affection toward children. The Mincopies dwell in rude huts, live chiefly on wild food, dress scantily and keep fire alive though perhaps not knowing how to make it. Their curious religious ideas, their strange food taboos, and certain interesting customs deserve careful study.

When De Quatrefages wrote his work in 1887, a presentation of the views of the ancients and a study of African *negrillos* and Asiatic *negritos* was exhaustive of the subject of the pygmies. But now the question presents other phases. In 1888 a paper by Mr. R. G. Haliburton was read before the Bath meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. In it the existence of a race of dwarfs in the Atlas Mountains of Southern Morocco was announced. A strangely acrimonious and personal discussion followed, which was prolonged through a number of years. It seems that now we must add a fifth—Northern or Moroccan—group to the four groups of African pygmies already known. Mr. Haliburton, prevented by ill-health from journeying to these pygmies, lost no opportunity of securing information. From sixty-five different persons he has secured a considerable mass of evidence. Villages or tribes of these Atlas dwarfs have been located in the districts of Akka and Sus, in the Dra Valley, in places to the southeast of Dra and at other points. A number of different names are applied to them—the Little Harateen, Akkas, Nezeegan, etc. They are reported to be about four feet high, with a reddish ("mahogany") complexion and short woolly hair. They are active and brave. They often perform as acrobats, are "good at single-stick," and are "skilled in hunting ostriches, the feathers and eggs of which they sell to Arab traders of the Sahara." They are not diligent at manual labor, but know cobbling, tinkering, etc. They are reported to use in ostrich hunting small swift horses that are called "those that drink the wind"; these are fed on dates and camel's milk,

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and are lean and look worthless. These pygmies are said to use poisoned arrows. When at home they wear a woollen shirt embroidered at the front and back; red leather leggings that nearly come to the knee, and a knife with a curious crescent-shaped handle. They live on milk and camel-flesh; the meat is pounded, salted, and packed away in goatskins. A handful of this will suffice for a man's subsistence two days. Authorities differ in regard to the religious belief of these dwarfs; quite possibly the populations really differ among themselves. Some are reputed to worship *Didoo Osiri;* most of them are considered Christians or half-Christians, "as they shave their faces and the front of their heads"; of a few, as those living in caves and tents southeast of Wad Dra, it is said that they are Mohammedans. The big neighbors of all these little people look upon them with curiously mingled feelings of reverence, dislike, and fear. "They bring good luck and are not to be talked about." They largely get their living by writing charms and telling fortunes; "they know the stars well"; they find money for people by writing on wooden slates. Such are the dwarfs of the Atlas. Is it not likely that their ancestors—and not those of the Akkas of Central Africa—are the dwarf troglodytes who, according to Herodotus, captured the fine young Nasamonians? On an Egyptian monument, perhaps four thousand years old, is a quaint picture of a dwarf with the word *Akka;* before that picture was painted, perhaps a thousand years before, an inscription (discussed by Professor Sayce) tells of a Denga dwarf "who danced divinely" like one that had been brought *still* earlier to King Assa of the Fifth Dynasty. These three dwarfs of Egyptian picture and inscription probably came from this Atlas region, perhaps from the very district called Akka to-day. The recurrence of this name Akka in two widely separated regions in connection with dwarf peoples is interesting and suggests ancient relationship between Schweinfurth's Central African and Haliburton's Moroccan dwarfs.

The question of dwarf races in Europe is now under discussion. The Roman anthropologist, Sergi, has found small skulls and skeletons in the old *Kungaas* of Russia, from the Chersonese to Novoladoga and from Kasan and Astrakhan to Minsk. Remains of this same pygmy race have been found by him in ancient graves in Sicily, Sardinia, and about Naples. This population was certainly shorter than the Mincopies of the Andamans, and

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was more like the *negrillos* than the *negritos*. Still more, both in Russia and in Italy he finds evidence of this pygmy folk in the living population. In this connection he emphasizes the fact that in certain districts of Italy from thirteen per cent. to sixteen per cent. of the persons examined by the recruiting officers fall below the required stature. He describes this European pygmy race as from 1.25 metres to 1.5 metres in height, with a brain capacity from 300 to 400 cubic centimetres less than the Italian average. Sergi suggests a theory in regard to this Italian and Russian population. He believes in an early migration of pygmies from Africa northward into the Mediterranean islands, Italy and Eastern Europe. In May, 1894, Dr. Kollman, of Basel, Switzerland, called attention to little skeletons and skulls found at Schweizerbild, near Schaffhausen. The skeletons were apparently of Neolithic Age. Two kinds were found, some of ordinary sized individuals presenting the types still represented in Europe; others were of little people, averaging perhaps 1.424 metres in stature. Out of thirteen skeletons of adults found, four were small. Kollman believes these were the same as Sergi found further south.

Some years ago a Prof. Moryata wrote a paper concerning the Nanos of the Pyrenees. The paper attracted little attention, and perhaps was never printed in full. Mr. Haliburton learned of it, and has looked into the matter. Moryata's description follows:

"Their height is about 4 ft., or 1.10, or 1.15 metres. . . . They are very broad cheeked, which makes them look stronger than they really are. . . . In general they all walk inclined forward. . . . Their features are so characteristic that when we have seen one we think we have seen them all. They all have a red complexion, and red hair, but like that of a peasant who does not comb or take care of his hair. They have a round face that is as wide as it is long, but the cheek bones are very prominent and the jaw bones strongly developed, which makes their faces seem square. To this square look the nose contributes. It is flat and even with the face, which makes it look like a small ball, and the nostrils are rather high up. The eyes are not horizontal, the inside being lower than the outside and they look like the Chinese, or, rather, like the Tartar race. To this must be added that they have no beard, four or six hairs, not of a beard but of down, being all they have on their face. Their faces are fleshy, but flaccid to such an extent that they seem to have no nerves, which causes a good many wrinkles, even when they are young. To make it clear, I might say that these people have the face of an old woman. The men and women are so alike that I could not help thinking of the tradition that the Chinese men were recommended to dress differently from the women. If the Nanos were to dress alike it would be difficult to tell the men from the women. Their very large

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mouth helps to give them a strange appearance, with their very thick lips, which never cover their long and strong teeth. Their incisors are remarkable for length and strength. Their lips are always wet, as if they had too much saliva, which, to my mind, makes them very repulsive. . . . It may prove that the existence of this race at Ribas may end in showing that in remote ages there existed in Europe a Tartar race, which hitherto has not been discovered."

Moryata's description of Nanos is at times, almost word for word, the same as the description of cretins, as given by Baillarger and Krishaber in the *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique des Sciences Médicales.* It is not then strange that many have believed the Pyrenean dwarfs to be not a pygmy race, but cretins. It was necessary that some competent person should look into the question in the field. Accordingly, in May, 1894, Mr. David MacRitchie visited the region to look for Nanos. Bad weather compelled a short trip, but in four days he found eleven cases. Some of these were plainly cretinous. In concluding his article (*Archiv für Ethnographie,* Vol. VIII.) he says: "I am inclined to regard them as the remnants of a race. Undoubted cretinism and goitre enter into the question. But of the eleven dwarfs whom I saw in the Ribas neighborhood, only two were affected with goitre. It is hard to believe that the little woman who figures first on my list owes her small stature and her other characteristics to the working of disease. And if those peculiarities are simply the outward signs of cretinism, and if cretinism is due to environment, how comes it that other people, living exactly the same life, are absolutely free from any such defects of mind or body?" Mr. Haliburton calls the cretin theory "hasty." He says: "The Denga dwarfs are the same now as five thousand years ago. We do not hear of goitre" (which is curiously related to cretinism; the children of goitrous parents are likely to be cretins; cretinism is never found in regions or among populations where goitre does not exist) "among the robust and warlike pygmies of the Great Lakes and Congo, who are flesh-eaters and hunters. I am persuaded that if a child of a Pyrenean cretin were to be fed on flesh food and made to lead an active life, he would never show any trace of goitre on arriving at manhood." The paragraph shows a lack of clear knowledge regarding goitre and cretinism, but the line of argument is clear. He also says: "Neither cretinism nor any other disease can turn ordinary Europeans into pygmies, with broad, flat noses, a copper-colored

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complexion, and mahogany-colored wool." . . . "Cretinism does not attack their larger neighbors, who for many centuries have lived near them. Cretinism in the Pyrenees and Alps, it seems to me, is *racial* in its character and is not a *disease*, but a *symptom* of decadence in a moribund race of dwarfs, who, in the recesses of mountains, are slowly going through the process of dying out through failing vitality, just as many centuries ago their race must have died out in the plains of Europe and Asia." Again we feel that our author lacks clear ideas of cretinism and goitre, but his suggestion deserves consideration. The question of the Pyrenean dwarfs is a delicate one. We need much further study before they can be admitted into the list of true pygmies. Just now Mr. Haliburton has secured hints of dwarf peoples in the Black Forest, the Vosges, and in Frisian districts. In this article we do not pretend to go outside the somatological field, otherwise we should present the very interesting matter drawn by Mr. MacRitchie and Mr. Haliburton, from linguistics, legend and folk-lore, relative to European pygmies or "little people."

At the last two meetings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Mr. Haliburton has brought up the question of pygmy peoples in America. Hints of such are not wanting. Some things about the ruined buildings of Yucatan and Central America suggest that they were built by little people. At Uxmal there is a "house of the dwarf," and at Cozumel are little buildings. In 1887 Brigham wrote in his *Guatemala:* "It would certainly be interesting to learn why many of the temples have doors, passages, and even rooms, that a man of ordinary stature cannot stand erect in." The Peabody Museum explorations in Central America have brought to light a number of representations of dwarfs. Haliburton describes one of these as having "a square, broad, and flat face; Mongolian eyes; bulging cheeks, more prominent than the broad and flat nose." Various writers have commented upon little Mexicans. In 1882 a band of little people invaded British Honduras. They were from four feet to four feet six inches in stature, and are said to be warlike, to make human sacrifices, to use the blow-gun and poisoned arrows, and to be makers of Panama hats. Mrs. Le Plongeon mentions a dwarf woman captured in Yucatan. Dwarf tribes are said to live, or to have lived, in Brazil, Uruguay, and other parts of South America.

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At Mr. Haliburton's suggestion our party last summer looked in Mexico for evidence of pygmy peoples there. No very definite information was secured. At Aguas Calientes, with a population of perhaps 30,000, we saw seven adults, none more than four feet eight inches in stature, in a single half hour. An Indian at Lake Chapala declared that there were little peoples in the mountains somewhere in Jalisco or Colima. Near Aytzcapatzalco, a suburb of the City of Mexico, are some full blooded Indians who retain their old dress and are very conservative, who are of little stature; they are probably Otomis. Little people live near Cholula. Archbishop Gillom, of Oaxaca, assured us that the Chontals in his diocese are very small. All of these hints may lead to something when followed up. Meantime the question whether there are real pygmy tribes in America seems to be really propounded.

FREDERICK STARR.

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RECOLLECTIONS OF LINCOLN'S ASSASSINATION.

BY SEATON MUNROE.

THE following simple narrative of events and incidents connected with the assassination of President Lincoln is intended to be confined to the knowledge and personal experience of the writer. As he has never, at home or abroad, encountered any opinion suggesting extenuation of the terrible crime, comment thereon is unnecessary, and will find no place in these reminiscences.

On the evening of the 14th of April, 1865, a few minutes after 10 o'clock, I was in company with a friend walking on Pennsylvania Avenue, when a man running down 10th Street approached us, wildly exclaiming: "My God, the President is killed at Ford's Theatre!" Calling to my friend to follow me I ran to the theatre, two blocks away, perceiving as I neared it increasing evidences of the wildest excitement, which reached its climax in the auditorium. How it was that I worked my way through the shouting crowd that filled the house, and found myself over the footlights and on the stage, I am unable to describe.

The first person to whom I addressed a rational word was a detective, now one of the oldest in the city. I asked him who had done the shooting. When he mentioned the name of Wilkes Booth I scouted the idea; but others insisted that Booth had been recognized in the man who had leaped from the President's box and rushed across the stage. Excited crowds during the war were nothing new to me, but I had never witnessed such a scene as was now presented. The seats, aisles, galleries, and stage were filled with shouting, frenzied men and women, many running aimlessly over one another; a chaos of disorder beyond control, had any visible authority attempted its exercise. The spot upon which the eyes of all would turn was the fatal upper stage box,

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opposite to which I now stood. Access to it was guarded, but presently a man in the uniform of an army surgeon was assisted by numerous arms and shoulders to climb into the box to join the medical men already there.

I was told that Laura Keene, immediately after the shot was fired, had left the stage and gone to the assistance of Mrs. Lincoln, and I soon caught a glimpse of that unhappy lady who had apparently arisen from her husband's side. She stood in view for a moment, when throwing up her arms, with a mournful cry, she disappeared from sight of the stage.

I now made my way towards the box exit to await the descent of Miss Keene, hoping to learn from her the President's condition. I met her at the foot of the staircase leading from the box, and alone. Making a motion to arrest her progress, I begged her to tell me if Mr. Lincoln was still alive. "God only knows!" she gasped, stopping for a moment's rest. The memory of that apparition will never leave me. Attired, as I had so often seen her, in the costume of her part in "Our American Cousin," her hair and dress were in disorder, and not only was her gown soaked in Lincoln's blood, but her hands, and even her cheeks where her fingers had strayed, were bedaubed with the sorry stains! But lately the central figure in the scene of comedy, she now appeared the incarnation of tragedy. Preparations were now being made to remove the President to the neighboring house where he breathed his last about seven o'clock the next morning, and the theatre was soon cleared and left in possession of the troops which had arrived.

By this time, the fact of the murderous attack on Mr. Seward had become generally known, and the rumors grew as to similar attacks on the lives of other high officials. The streets were filled with people, and the hotels were centres of surging crowds. Beyond the chief actor, the President's assassin, whose identity was still a mooted question, there was none to whom suspicion as yet pointed. All trace of Booth was lost and the direction of his flight a mystery. Had the then unknown and unconceived telephone been in existence, could the headlong ride of the assassin and his companion have been for so long unarrested? With Alexandria, the "Long" and "Chain" bridges, Tennallytown, Brightwood, Benning, and Anacostia—all in vocal communication, what changes in the drama might not its swift agency have

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wrought! Although the military telegraph was being worked to its full capacity, the galloping Booth and Herold had outstripped its operation, and with slackened speed had leisurely crossed the Navy Yard bridge, only delayed by a few commonplace questions by the unsuspecting sentries. They were now free from immediate pursuit, and were riding through a country with which Herold was thoroughly familiar. The story has oft been told of their twelve days' journey, broken by rests of hiding, their crossing the Potomac, and their discovery and capture in Caroline County, Virginia.

During that eventful night, urgent was the need of the "Old Capitol Prison" for its strong garrison. On that very afternoon, as the maddened crowds well knew, a hundred or more Confederate officers had arrived in the city as prisoners of war, *en route* for Fort Warren, and were quartered in that dilapidated old crib on Capitol Hill. Fierce threats of burning the building and slaughtering the prisoners were freely made; but the city was under arms, and the Provost Marshal on the alert. Indeed, some of the resident population suspected of secession or Southern sympathies were far from safe. In one yelling crowd that started from Willard's Hotel up Fourteenth Street towards the Ebbitt House, I managed to edge my way in with the leaders, and to dissuade them, I scarce remember how, from violence against the residence of a well-known physician.

I did not consider it necessary on that night to confide to any one the fact that I was an acquaintance of Booth; but I often thought before the morning of two army friends of mine whose reflections could scarcely have been comfortable. They were loyal and devoted Union soldiers, but chance alone had saved them from a serious and embarrassing predicament in connection with the assassin.

Booth had several months previously made their acquaintance, and knowing that among their duties as officers on the staff of the Commanding General were periodical visits by day and night to the chain of fortifications surrounding the city, he had proposed to accompany one or both of them when their turns should arrive. He was a fine horseman, and it had seemed but natural that the solitary rides of their civilian friend might be pleasantly diversified by this new experience. But changes in their detail and other circumstances had, happily for them, interfered with their

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appointments with Booth, and rescued them from the company of so compromising a volunteer aid. I may mention here that the companion who was with me when we first heard of the assassination, and who was an intimate friend of some high officials, was arrested on the street the next day owing to a fancied resemblance to Booth.

It was through these officers that I had made the acquaintance of Booth. Being domiciled at the National Hotel, he had during the winter invited them to attend a dance or "hop" to be given there, and to extend the invitation to any friend. They asked me to go, as they wished me to meet their friend the actor. I duly attended the function, and on entering the ball-room (the large dining hall) was met by one of my military friends, who conducted me through a glass door to a private nook where Booth was entertaining his friends with champagne. The host received me most cordially, and I was soon hobnobbing with the popular actor. His handsome presence and engaging manner at once captivated me, and during the hour I remained I had several chats with him, the beginning of a pleasant association of many weeks. During this period he seemed to have been occasionally absent from town, but we frequently met and strolled on the Avenue, usually dropping into Hancock's. The old man, "Uncle Andrew," was then in the prime of his genial old age, and his mulatto assistant, "Dick," was justly celebrated for his ministrations to the convivial frequenters of this unique old curiosity shop. Booth and I occasionally drifted into subjects theatrical, and I, but two or three years out of Harvard, had Warren, Davenport, Setchell, McCullough, Lawrence Barrett, the Mestayers, Westerns, and Fanny Clarke at my tongue's end. I had known all of the men, most of them as stock actors. All of them were then becoming famous, none of them, alas! now living. Booth never spoke to me of the war or of national affairs with more than a passing word, and while it was plain to be seen that he was Southern in his feelings, I did not class him as a Secessionist. It was almost as difficult afterwards to realize, as then to dream, that the mind and heart clothed in such engaging presence was harboring a treasonable and murderous conspiracy; or that the hand lifting the friendly glass was to direct the fatal shot that awoke two hemispheres in horror! And strange, too, were these chance meetings in the quaint little museum which his impend-

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ing fate was soon to furnish with the other sensational objects upon which we may gaze to-day.

But returning to that memorable night, there was, until nearly dawn, a gathering of notable persons in the old "Metropolitan Club," then situate on the corner now occupied by Wormley's Hotel. Upon the Club register, now in possession of its social namesake, was entered, in a few impressive lines, a brief account of the night's tragic happenings. As the club-house was on the same block as the Seward (now the Blaine) residence, I tarried there until satisfied that Mr. Seward was in no imminent danger, and then went home to sleep as best I might.

Before breakfast the next morning the expected intelligence of the President's death had spread throughout the city, although in many households it was the first intimation of the night's tragedy. Early in the forenoon my own was one of the hundreds of houses already draped in the emblems of mourning.

Before noon I was at the Navy Yard, where my brother, a captain of marines, had, during the night, in obedience to orders from the Navy Department, occupied with a guard of one hundred men the monitors "Montauk" and "Saugus," lying out in the stream. They had been designated for service as a prison for the reception and safekeeping of such prisoners as might be sent on board. Entering one of her boats, I was soon on the deck of the "Montauk," and in conversation with the captain, who recounted to me his experiences of the preceding night.

Among others who had been sent on board were Atzerodt, who had been arrested for intent to kill Vice-President Johnson, and Spangler, the stage carpenter, for assisting Booth to escape from the building. The captain told me that Atzerodt had sent for him and made a partial confession, to the effect that he had entered into a conspiracy with Booth and others to abduct the President and other prominent officers of the government, but when he found that plan abandoned, and the plot changed to one of murder, he had faltered. But such was his fear of Booth, personally, that he had not dared risk the detection of his intended desertion, and so he had been seen lurking around the "Kirkwood House," where Mr. Johnson lived. This confession was of no avail. It was not admitted on the trial, and he met his deserved fate as a conspirator and accessory in treason and assassination.

On revisiting the Navy Yard on the next day, I found that

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Payne was a prisoner, having been captured at Mrs. Surratt's house in the city, and identified as the assailant of Mr. Seward. It will be remembered by those familiar with the events of the trial, that Payne's counsel, Colonel Doster, made no formal argument for the defence, but read and submitted to the Court a most eloquent plea for mercy, containing the story of his client's parentage, and short though eventful career. It appeared that his true name was Powell. He had entered the Confederate service from his native State of Florida, served in the army of Virginia, and, in the early part of 1861, after seeing Booth at the theatre in Richmond, had met him personally, and become infatuated with him. He had subsequently been captured, had escaped, and found his way to Baltimore, where in the winter of 1864–5 he had again encountered Booth. Three years had passed with their experience of adventure and bloodshed. He was now poor and needy, hopeless for his cause and embittered in his devotion to it; and he but little required the eloquence of his former idol to become his slave, and to find in him a leader in any enterprise, however desperate. He was older in character at twenty years of age than the boyish and silly Herold, several years his senior, or than the degraded Atzerodt, whose maturer years had brought no experiences more heroic than those gained in river blockade-running and stable lounging.

Of the truth of the so-called Payne's statements regarding his name and origin, I had abundant evidence to satisfy me within two months after his execution. There is at present residing in Washington a well-known and successful lawyer, a native and Confederate soldier of Florida, who in the early autumn of 1865 became an inmate of my home on his first visit to the North. During one of our strolls about the city, and without disclosing my object, I took him into Gardner's gallery on Seventh Street, where were to be seen photographs of the conspirators. We examined them all casually, and I then called his attention to that of Payne, asking if he perceived in it a likeness to any one. He gave it a closer scrutiny, and then said it "looked like a youngster named Powell." He said that the boy was the son of a minister in Florida. He had not belonged to Powell's company, and had not known him well; but making allowance for the changes that five years might have wrought in his face and form, he felt confident in the recognition of

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the individual he had known. These and other items I gleaned from my friend, who had never read Colonel Doster's plea, with which, on comparison, I found his statements to coincide.

But another question touching the man's identity had previously impressed itself on my mind, and its solution had been most decisively settled. There was an attempt made, and by some persons vehemently persisted in, to make it appear that the so called Payne was actually the son of Captain Sydney Smith Lee, late of the United States Navy, the brother of Robert E. Lee, and therefore a nephew of the Confederate leader, and a brother of General Fitzhugh Lee. To explain how such an idea might have been temporarily entertained, I will mention a startling conversation I had with my brother on the morning after Payne had been brought on board.

The Captain took me aside and told me that he had a half suspicion that the man called Payne might be his old friend, Dan Lee, his schoolmate at Dr. Arnold's Rugby Academy, near Baltimore, and of whom I had often heard him speak. He thus explained his apprehension. He had followed the guard to the cell provided for the prisoner's reception, and which had been extemporized in a coal bunker. In pursuance of special instructions, given in view of the man's extraordinary strength and desperate nature, he had caused the cell to be prepared, and proceeded to superintend the disposition of the prisoner to prevent self injury. The man was seated, and his head somewhat bowed, so that his position did not allow the dim light of the ship's lantern to disclose more than a partial view of his features. No conversation passed between them, the officer's duty only having in view such precautions for the prisoner's safe keeping as were necessary and not inconsistent with humanity. He left the door of the cell haunted by this shadow of recognition, but spoke to no one until he saw me in the morning.

The prisoners were now brought on deck to be photographed, and the opportunity was presented for the settlement of this unwelcome doubt. During the sitting I was rejoiced to see an expression of relief appear upon the Captain's countenance, and when he rejoined me he fervently said: "Thank God, there's nothing in it. Dan Lee never could have grown to this fellow's stature: he had dark eyes and fine teeth, while this one's eyes are blue and his teeth very bad." Yet ignoring these essential

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points of difference, there were several persons present at the trial, who doggedly clung to this sensational belief. I first met Dan Lee several years afterward, and he then laughingly spoke of my brother's account of the affair.

On the 28th of April, on my way to the Navy Yard, I learned that Booth and Herold had been captured, and that the latter, with Booth's body, had been brought up the river, and were on board the "Monitor." At the gate I found that no one at this time was allowed to visit the ships. The officer of the day, an old friend, invited me into his quarters, and explained that this restriction had come from the Navy Department, because of the numbers of people that the good nature of the Commandant of the Yard had permitted to overcrowd the vessels. He thought, however, that he could manage to put me on board; so, sending for a corporal, he instructed him to "take this man on board the "Saugus," and deliver him to the captain in command." I cannot say that there was aught exchanged between the officer and man beyond these words, but within ten minutes I was "delivered," and received by the captain, somewhat to his surprise.

I soon found myself mingling with the groups of official people on board, with some of whom I was acquainted. One of them was General Eckert, an Assistant Secretary of War, who asked me if I wished to see Booth's body, and pointed to a gathering of people on the after deck. I was soon gazing at the remains, which needed no long inspection to enable me to recognize them. The handsome countenance was unmarred by the agony of his lingering death, which I was soon to hear described. There were missing the moustache and the curling lock upon his forehead, which during the flight had been removed at the house of Dr. Mudd. There his broken leg had been set, and its foot was now covered by an old shoe, replacing the riding boot which it was found necessary to cut off. The body was resting upon a rough carpenter's bench, where it had lain since early morning, and it was now awaiting, before a kind of military coroner's jury, an official identification, in which I little thought I was soon to bear a part.

But presently the scene shifted forward, for Herold was brought on deck to be photographed. As I stood near the hatchway, I had my first look at him as he slowly ascended and moved forward with the sentries. He was not only handcuffed, but to

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his leg irons were attached, a chain, and a 32-pound shot, the latter being carried by the sentry in the rear. As they approached the turret the gangway narrowed, and their footsteps along the iron deck were but a few feet from the water. The idea instantly seized me that at this moment had come to the unhappy wretch the first, last and only opportunity of escape from the gallows. A sudden dash to the right, and his impetus would have dragged the shot, if not the sentry, after him over the unrailed side of the "Monitor"; and in two minutes thereafter his parting breath would have bubbled to the surface from where he lay anchored, three fathoms below, on the muddy bottom of the river. But had the thought occurred to him, it was not to be; and he remained among the living a few weeks longer, to complete the doomed quartette upon the scaffold.

I then returned to Booth's body, accompanied by General Eckert, when conversation ensued regarding my knowledge of the man and my recognition of the remains. Having been on board for over an hour, I was about to take my leave, when General Eckert informed me that a military commission was about to convene, and the presiding officer desired me to remain as a witness. Shortly afterwards I was summoned to the cabin where the Commission was in session, and among the members of it I recall General Holt, the Judge Advocate General of the Army, Judge Bingham, of Ohio, and the well-known Col. Lafayette C. Baker. My examination was short, the questions relating to the length of my personal acquaintance with Booth, and to the positiveness of my recognition of his body, and after my dismissal from the stand I was allowed to remain in court.

The examination of the next witness was more interesting in detail, being that of Dawson, a clerk in the National Hotel, who it appeared had known Booth for some years. When asked whether the man had possessed any physical peculiarity by which he could recognize the remains, he replied in the affirmative. He had often seen on Booth's right hand, at the junction of the thumb and forefinger, the initials, "J. W. B." in india ink. This mark had sometimes come under his notice when the actor was writing his name on the hotel register, and he had more than once made the remark: "Booth, what a fool you were to disfigure that pretty white hand in such a way."

Another witness presently appeared in the person of Dr. J.

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Frederick May. It having been ascertained that Booth had been his patient, the Doctor was sent for, and brought directly from his residence to the cabin of the ship, without seeing the remains on deck. He answered the questions as to his relations with Booth, by saying that, after the actor had become his patient, a mutual liking had ensued, and that he had occasionally attended the theatre with tickets sent by him. As a means of identification he mentioned a tumor on the neck about which he had been consulted. Booth had come to him with an angry swelling on the left side of his neck, which he had found to be a tumor, and removed with the knife. After dressing it, he advised the patient to be very careful in his movements; that the place would heal by "first intention," and have a small seam-like scar that would be but little noticeable. Booth departed much relieved from apprehension of disfigurement.

Some days afterward he had returned, and said that all had gone well up to the time of an unforeseen accident. In Baltimore he had been playing some part with Charlotte Cushman, where some stage business in the scene required her grasp upon his shoulder. But the vehemence of action, for which this celebrated actress was proverbial, had caused her to miss her aim, and she struck him on the neck with such violence as to reopen the wound, then not quite healed. Further treatment and redressing was resorted to, and the wound had finally healed by "granulation," the scar being enlarged, and resembling that caused by vaccination. This exact condition was apparent when the body was examined in the presence of members of the Commission, thus setting at rest the question of identity.

Then followed the testimony of the officer who had commanded the pursuing party; and most intensely interesting was this narrative from the lips of one of the chief actors in that tragic retribution.

During this time, on the deck above was being performed the autopsy, the ghastly results of which met my sight when I ascended. It was the first "post mortem" I had ever seen, and the only one of which a personal acquaintance has been the subject. And what a shocking change was before me, to find life, health, manly beauty, and brave attire replaced by death, mutilated bone and viscera, and travel-worn blood-stained rags! Even then I could fancy the relic hunter plying his vocation, and im-

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bruing his ready handkerchief in the clotted blood, that he might preserve, exhibit, and mayhap peddle his gruesome trophy! I have lately seen in print an account of the preservation and partition of the blood-stained dress of Laura Keene, of which I have made previous mention of seeing in the theatre.

So many stories were shortly after this time published concerning the final disposition of Booth's remains, that I must state, in conclusion, what I saw and knew about it. Some accounts treated the subject as a mystery the Government was determined to maintain, while others insisted that the body was carried down the river and bay by night, and thence out to sea, where it was sunk forever out of the sight and knowledge of men. Nine years afterward I met in Europe an Englishman, who declared and offered to wager that Booth was then alive and in India. He "knew all about it," of course; but he eventually decided not to lose the considerable number of pounds sterling he had offered to risk when I engaged to produce an authenticated extract of the proceedings of the Commission.

The facts, with which I was well acquainted, are these: After the adjournment of the Commission, the remains were, in my sight, sewn up in a navy blanket and passed over the side of the vessel into a small boat, manned by two persons, one of whom was rowing, and who had been detailed by Colonel Baker, with instructions which they kept to themselves. The boat proceeded down the Anacostia and disappeared around the point in the direction of the United States Arsenal, now the Artillery Barracks. In these grounds was the old Penitentiary, within the walls of which the conspirators were subsequently confined, tried, and four of them executed. The officers on duty at the Arsenal were well known to me, two of them being my relatives. A short time subsequently one of these told me of the receipt by him of the body, and its interment in a cellar under the Penitentiary building on the day I saw the last of it.

Several years afterward, as is now well known, the Government turned it over to the family, and it is now resting in their cemetery plot in Baltimore.

SEATON MUNROE.

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THE FUTURE LIFE AND THE CONDITION OF MAN THEREIN.—IV.

BY THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE.

II.—MAN'S CONDITION IN THE FUTURE LIFE.

II.—Speculations on the Future of the Righteous and of the Unrighteous.

ALTHOUGH Butler supplies important and fruitful suggestions on the condition of man in the future life, which I shall endeavor in some degree to unfold, the observations contained in these papers range over a tract lying beyond the field he opens. It may be fairly asked: Why enter upon a discussion so wide and difficult? My answer shall be explicit. It is not for the satisfaction of speculative curiosity. It is because a portion of Divine truth, which even if secondary is essential, appears to be silently passing out of view, and because the danger of losing it ought at all costs to be averted, in the hope that even the feeblest effort in a right direction will not be wholly frustrate, but may in some minds operate as a warning.

There is surely a side of the Divine teaching set forth in the Scriptures which shows that the Christian dispensation, when it fails in its grand purpose of operating as savor of life unto life, will be a savor of death unto death; and this under no new or arbitrary rule, but under the law, wide as the universe, that guilt deepens according to the knowledge with which it is incurred. Therefore, the great Apostle of the grace of God sets before us this side of his teaching: "Knowing the terrors of the Lord, we persuade men." Menace as well as promise, menace for those whom promise could not melt or move, formed an essential part of the provision for working out the redemption of the world. And I ask myself the question, what place, in the

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ordinary range of Christian teaching, is found for "the terrors of the Lord?" This instrument of persuasion, which St. Paul thought it needful to use with the Church in its stage of the first infancy and in an environment of weakness, is it used as boldly now when she is armed with eighteen centuries of experience, and when social and public power are still largely arrayed on her behalf? If not, there is danger lest judgment, in a matter of great moment, should go against her by default. Now the Newtonian law, that action and reaction are equal, and in opposite directions, has its application also in the world of thought; and so often as we truly observe in that world abnormal excess or defect, it is salutary to inquire whether the excess is in any degree due to previous deficiencies, or the defect to previous excesses? It is in this spirit that I submit the present observations to review, and, if need be, to correction. If the "terrors of the Lord" had an essential place in the Apostolic system, they ought not to drop out of view in this or any later century, unless at the happy epoch when human thought and action shall present to the eye of the Judge of all nothing to which terror can attach.

It is now time to carry our contemplation onward from the picture presented by the teaching of the New Testament and the early Church to the later fashions and later systems; the first supplying us with ideas which are few, simple, majestic, and on their human side circumscribed; the second offering us a more copious presentation of deductions, and in our own time also of speculations travelling over far wider spaces—sometimes, perhaps, gratuitous or fanciful, sometimes repulsive, and even irreverent. Is this enlargement of the *repertoire* of theological discussion an acquisition of solid and firm-set territory, and does it represent a real addition to our wealth in objects of faith? Shall we do well to cherish for our own minds, and to promote in others, the hardening of these ideas and speculations, or of any selected from among them, or shall we rather recommend and cultivate, after a fashion now antiquated, a spirit of abstention and reserve?

I shall offer one general remark which appears to me to be of weight. There are two compartments, so to speak, in the vast regions spread out before us, which appertain to the future of the righteous and the unrighteous, respectively. With regard to the first, men have been content to leave it in the main much as they received from our Lord and the Apostles, and have respected

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the declaration that "eye hath not seen nor ear heard." But there has been an activity certainly remarkable, perhaps in part feverish and morbid, in exploring the *domos Ditis vacuas et inania regna*, and where the New Testament was sparing or silent, it has been bold, eager, and even dogmatic. This thirst for information on punishments—as to their nature, the classes who are to undergo them, and their duration—does not seem to be founded on the persuasion that there is our home and that, as if it were an earthly home, we desire to know all we can about it. Anxiety has taken the same direction in dogmatic and in anti-dogmatic times, but for different reasons. It is not now sought to alarm men by magnifying the power of God and by exhibiting the strictness and severity of the law of righteousness. The anxiety now is to throw these subjects into the shade, lest the fastidiousness of human judgment and feeling should be so offended as to rise in rebellion against God for His harshness and austerity. That this motive is entertained in good faith, need not be doubted. But the result in practice is that we call the Almighty to account and undertake, on the foundation of our own judgment, to determine what He can or cannot do because we have concluded that He ought or ought not. For those who reflect on what God is and what we are, it will be evident that this is, to say the least, most dangerous ground. And propositions growing out of our own unwarranted assumptions are tendered to us for acceptance with a confidence which ought only to be felt when our reason is acting within its own province and the measure of our own powers.

A special temptation to this abusive course has been placed in our way by lofty assumptions habitually made on behalf of the doctrine of natural immortality, and by the presentation of that doctrine in what I will term a doubly aggravated form. Of necessity and by itself it obtrudes this change upon the conditions of thought; that whereas, before the acceptance of natural immortality as a tenet of religion, the future state of the righteous was the grand basis of affirmation touching the world to come, it defined the existence of all human beings in the future world as co-extensive in duration; indeed, as apparently parallel in all points except the difference between suffering and enjoyment. But when the question of the future life of the non-Christian world was also dragged within the terms that the new covenant had

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laid down, and when the destinies of all mankind from the very first were also included, it is plain that the subject underwent an enormous and, as I should urge, gratuitous extension. The other aggravation of the difficulties of the question is one which requires to be noticed at greater length.

The word "eternal" is employed in the parable of the Last Judgment to describe the duration both of the rewards of the saved and the retribution of lost souls. The phrase used in the original is "*aionios;*" and this is applicable, according to the context, never to brief, but sometimes to terminable, and sometimes to interminable, periods. There is, however, another way of getting at the notion of eternity beyond the limits of fixed period; and this is to describe it by negation, as time without any time-limit, time without end. This was the conception which, more or less, from the first, and increasingly in the course of ages, took possession of the Christian mind, and we commonly hear of the eternal punishment of the wicked in the literature of the Church. But, while the word "eternal" has remained in use, together with the exclusion as a general rule of a specific time limit, it has carried very different meanings. It depends upon numeration; and numeration is a faculty possessed in enormously different degrees not only by the same human being at different stages of his life, but by the race at different stages of its development. I have heard a child count upwards "one, two, three, four, a hundred." His numeration was represented by the first four terms; the fifth expressed his conception of infinity, and infinity applied to time is eternity. He was not sensible of its faultiness: he knew nothing of the need to establish a defined agreement between phrase and fact. So it was with the primitive man, for whom arithmetic was "fiving,"* and was taught by the number of fingers on the hand. The needs of the world in its youth do not require the use of largely extended numeration. When vast numbers have to be referred to, it is never for any of the ordinary uses of life, and the purpose is sufficiently served by citing the sand of the sea shore, or the stars of heaven. Very long ago I had occasion to discuss this subject in detail with reference to Homer's faculty of numeration. He never attempts to give the totals of the Achaian and Trojan armies or even the total of the fleet. He derives assistance from the revolution of the seasons,

* Odyss., IV.

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and it appears that his idea of defined number comes to a stop with the days of the year.*

Beyond doubt these ideas would gradually open out as time went on. But the Scriptures nowhere, I think, deal definitely with very large numbers. In the Apocalypse, the phrase "ten thousand times ten thousand" is plainly figurative, and the total it expresses would seem in modern numeration small. We have now by slow degrees become familiar with hundreds and even thousands of millions, partly in connection with money, but much more largely in connection with astronomical computations. But there is a curious illustration of the mental capacity of the early Christians in this department of thought. The millenarian idea embraced an enormous multiplication of fruits and grains upon the renovated earth. Each corn sown produced 1,000 million pounds weight of corns. But this fell far behind the provision of wine as recorded by Papias. Each vine will have ten thousand arms, each arm ten thousand boughs, each bough ten thousand branches, each branch ten thousand bunches of grapes, each bunch ten thousand berries, each berry yielding twenty thousand measures of wine. Thus, to express the total, the figure two has to be followed by twenty-four naughts, or the fourth power of a million doubled at the close. But the artificial nature of the process testifies to its entirely fanciful nature. Mathematical methods, however, have familiarized us up to a point altogether new, if not with the true idea of a boundless duration in its strictness, yet with a duration so far extended as to present to us an object alike vast and appalling in connection with pain, if not stupefying when put in connection even with enjoyment. And now, when every one is competent or accustomed to speculate upon anything, it is little or less surprising that the average human mind should instinctively recoil from opening out a volume which beats the roll of Jeremiah in the woefulness of its contents, and which the New Testament seems rather to aim at keeping closed. And as to the conception itself of immortality in eternity, where are we? With all our labor to enlarge our conception relatively to its subject it remains as small as ever. No addition adds to it, no subtraction reduces this eternity. In such imperfect vision of it as by the utmost effort we can entertain, it is so vast as to paral-

* *Studies on Homer*, Vol. III., Chapter on *Number*.

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yze, almost to crush, our feeble intellects. Their failure would be more keenly felt were we duly grounded in the habit of pondering the words we use, and measuring their true weight and force. I will give one final indication of the manner in which the human race has shrunk abashed for so long a time from the microscopic enlargement of this question. One of the mightiest intellects it has produced was that of Dante; and, in the first division of his great work, he might seem almost to have been driven upon its detailed consideration. And yet he has avoided all attempts at such consideration. He uses the word "eternal" in the *Inferno* but twelve times (its derivatives making no sensible addition), and uses it almost exclusively as to the region, hardly ever in relation to a soul, always a simple epithet without exposition or illustration. From detail and development of duration he altogether abstains; and it is observable that in the *Inferno* of Dante there are no infants. But how large a space the question of man's condition in a future life occupies on the field of human interests cannot, I think, be more pointedly shown than by reference to a remarkable bibliography lately published which (terminating in the year 1878) contains the titles of over six thousand separate works.*

It may be, and is even probable, that in the days when the utterance of belief was dominant and often arrogant, not only was the doctrine of eternal pains often publicly announced, but perhaps it may have been loaded with extravagant extensions, and with details sometimes unwarranted, sometimes even approaching to the loathsome. This fashion has continued within narrowing limits down to the present day, and two remarkable specimens are cited by Mr. Row,† which may be read with regret. But, before considering excess in an opposite direction, it may be well to dwell for a moment on an extreme form of the provocation which has been given. I therefore copy out of the work of Mr. Alger‡ an extract which he has drawn from the work of Mr. Trapp, an English clergyman:

> "Doomed to live death, and never to expire,
> In floods and whirlwinds of tempestuous fire,
> The damned shall groan; fire of all kinds and forms,
> In rain and hail, in hurricanes and storms:

* "*The Literature of the Doctrine of a Future Life*," by Ezra Abbot, in Alger's "*Critical History of the Doctrine*." Tenth Edition, New York, 1878.
† "*Future Retribution*," by Rev. C. A. Row. London (Isbisters), 1887, page 16.
‡ Alger, page 570.

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Liquid and solid, livid, red, and pale,
A flaming mountain here, and there a flaming vale;
The liquid fire makes seas, the solid, shores;
Arched o'er with flames, the horrid concave roars.
In bubbling eddies rolls the fiery tide,
And sulphurous surges on each other ride;
The hollow winding vaults, and dens, and caves,
Bellow like furnaces with flaming waves;
Pillars of flame in spiral volumes rise
Like flaming snakes, and lick the infernal skies.
Sulphur, the eternal fuel, unconsumed,
Vomits redounding smoke thick, unillumed."

There is no small talent in the construction of these lines. But it is impossible to avoid seeing that, apart from all other questions, there creeps into this kind of literature a strong element of pure vulgarity. It will be a relief to turn from this unbridled effusion when we come to the temperate and careful statement of Dr. Pusey.* What would be the conclusion, I do not say of any zealous champion of orthodoxy, but of any capable and impartial observer competently acquainted with the Scriptures and the general conditions of Christianity, upon the question how far the present tone of the pulpit and of theological literature assigns to the penal element in the Providential and Christian system of the world an operative place. I say an operative place, because among believers in the future state there are no denials of the abstract proposition that punishment awaits the wicked after death. But this proposition seems to be relegated at present to the far off corners of the Christian mind, and there to sleep in deep shadow, as a thing needless in this enlightened and progressive age. So far as my knowledge and experience go we are in danger of losing this subject out of sight and out of mind. I am not now speaking of everlasting punishments in particular, but of all and any punishment; and can it be right, can it be warrantable that the pulpit and the press should advisedly fall short of the standard established by the Holy Scriptures, and not less uniformly by the earliest and most artless period of hortatory Christian teaching? Is it not altogether undeniable that these authorities did so handle the subject of this penal element, in the frequency of mention and in the manner of handling, that in their Christian system it had a place as truly operative, as clear, palpable and impressive, as the more attractive doctrines of redeeming

* "*What is of Faith as to Everlasting Punishment,*" 1860.

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love? I sometimes fear that we have lived into a period of intimidation in this great matter. That broad and simple promulgation of the new scheme which is known as the Sermon on the Mount was closed with the awful presentation of the house built upon the sand. But, as if men were now more easy to be persuaded and there was now no sand to build upon, Christian teachers seem largely to be possessed with an amiable fear lest the delicate ear in the Church and the still more critical eye in the closet should find its niceness repelled by any glimpse of hell, and to dwell exclusively on that grace and bounty, which, alas! are as far as ever from being generally comprehended and appropriated. For, if I am right, the effects wrought by this intimidation, not indeed in the distinct consciousness, yet in the language of the great teaching organ, is not confined to popular exhortation, but even finds its way into deliberate and systematic exhibitions of thought. I must not withhold an example. Dr. Salmond, to whose work I have already presumed to refer with honor, dismisses the theory of universalism with decision, and that of conditionalism almost with severity, does not shrink from showing that man determines his own immortality for weal or for woe, and determines it finally not for weal only but for woe.* When, however, he comes to the closing summation of his teachings, he gives it in the following terms:

"If there be at the decisive point of life, however late it may come, the tremulous inclination of the soul to God, the feeblest presence of that which makes for righteousness and faith in heathen or in Christian, it will be recognized of the Judge, and under the conditions of the new life, it will grow to more, in the power and in the blessedness of good."†

Readers of more insight than myself may more fully grasp than I do the meaning of these words. If they signify that the determining conditions of a vital conformity to the will of God may subsist but yet may have escaped the human eye, and may receive their development in a world where virtue or goodness shall expatiate freely and without its terrene obstructions, this, I apprehend, is the doctrine of Butler, to which I shall have occasion further to refer. But if it be signified that in every case where the process of destroying spiritual life, however far ad-

*"*Doctrine of Immortality*," Book VI, Chap. IV.
† *Ibid.*, page 672.

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vanced, and with however absolute a command of evil over conduct, and however fixed the mental habits may have become, is not yet absolutely completed, with every spark of true life extinct, the remaining sparks shall grow into a new vitality, then it might be difficult to comprehend why Dives was not with Lazarus in Abraham's bosom; still more difficult to repress the fear that doctrine hung upon this pivot would empty Evangelical threatenings of their force, would sorely hinder the rescuing of souls and would, as Origen feared with regard to his own speculations, be perilous to the common weal. Ought we not in reason to take a distinction between a vital warmth which is ascending, and one which is sinking into the abyss? In our common experience the candle is not relumed from the dying spark upon the wick; and the movement of death has oftentimes conclusively set in while its mechanical completion is still delayed; nor can any doctrine be more at variance with reason than that which teaches that no process is determined until it has been closed.

We seem now to have arrived at the juncture proper for approaching the most practical side of this question; the side at which we are to consider how our own ideas may most rationally and most dutifully be adjusted. And I wish frankly to express my consciousness that, while I labor to bring difficulties into view, I have no grand solutions of the kinds now in vogue to offer; that I must be more forward in recommending the abandonment than the adoption of ideas; that my prescriptions lie on the lines of reserve, abstention and thereby of escape from extremes and exaggerations. And this I set about with full cognizance of the fact that no mode of treatment can be more chilling and repellent to the general reader.

Let me now consider and represent with as much accuracy as I may the principal forms of eschatological opinion which at the present day actively compete for the assent of believers in Christianity. They are, I believe, three in number, and none of them, so far as I am able to judge, corresponds with the sense of the early Christian Church; while one at least not only departs from it, but seems to strike at the root principles of Christian philosophy as they are conceived by Butler.

There has never been any period or condition of the Church in which Christian thought did not associate the future condition

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of wicked men with suffering. With this suffering there was associated no doctrine or prospect of relief, by a preponderance of writers so enormous as to leave outside their band no more than a remnant hardly appreciable or visible. It is common to use the phrase "*aionian*" or "eternal" as to this suffering, but the idea had not been elaborately formulated, and the word conveyed the sense of a term indefinite rather than of one properly infinite. Modern usage and experience have effected a great practical change in the sense we attach to the term "eternal", and this change in the basis has made a profound change also in the doctrine, combined as it has been not only with the tacit but general adoption of the doctrine of natural immortality, but with the obtrusion of this philosophical opinion upon the Christian religion as being, in the view of many, an article of faith. Such, indeed, is the popular idea which now takes it for certain as an article of faith—first, that the wicked will have an endless existence, and, secondly, that that endless existence will be an existence of endless torment. The change seems due to two causes: 1. the adoption from philosophy into theology of the notion of natural immortality; 2. the formulation and distension of the idea of eternity. Let us bear these things in mind while proceeding to bring into near view the prevailing schemes of modern thought on this great subject.

The opinion traditionally established respecting eternal punishment has not had in the present generation any more learned or more temperate advocate than Dr. Pusey,* who also derived advantage from the highflown and unmeasured language of the work on "Eternal Life" which he opposed. He does not, I think, enter upon the question of natural immortality, nor upon the gradual unlocking or unfolding of the signification of the word "eternal"; nor supply a strictly definite answer to the question which is propounded by the title of his work. But he contests the propositions which I have cited from various writers as to the absence of a strict doctrine of eternal punishment before the time of Origen. He looks upon Origenism as an isolated fact; does not admit that it was largely or weightily supported, and conceives that it was condemned by the entire Church, through the medium of several local councils taken together; apparently proceeding upon the maxim that a combination of

* "*What is of Faith as to Everlasting Punishment*," London and Oxford, 1880.

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local councils not contradicted by other councils amounts to an universal acceptance and binds the entire Church.

He conceives that Origenism was unnecessarily brought up in the Fifth General Council, through the gratuitous desire of Justinian to meddle in controverted theology.* He makes but a limited admission even in the case of St. Gregory of Nyssa's entertaining some ideas that leaned in the direction of Origen. He says, however, after describing the final hell, that "no one who can love would be there."† He commends (apparently) the language of Cardinal Newman: "What we cannot accept . . . is . . . that man's probation for his eternal destiny . . . continues after this life."‡ And he appears to sum up his judgment on the whole matter in a question evidently involving an affirmation: "How do we know that Almighty God has cast into hell a single soul, of which He does not know, in His absolute knowledge, that under any circumstances it would continue to resist the law, and reject the love, of God."§ And he adds with tender feeling and wise judgment: "He can reconcile His own attributes, if we abide His time"; thus evidently implying that there is somewhat of unsolved difficulty in the scheme of ideas which he has been expounding. In 1728, Dr. Thomas Burnett published his *"De Statu Mortuorum ac Resurgentium Tractatus"*; a work of great ability published in Latin by him in or before 1728, translated and so republished in English after his death in 1738. Dr. Thomas Burnett did not possess the wide learning of Dr. Pusey, but he had the advantage of producing his work as an historical treatise, exempt from all immediate concern with controversy.

He propounds, without arguing it, the natural immortality of the soul *dependentem quidem a Deo, sed vi et principiis suae naturae originariae.*‖ His favorite statement is that the pains of the lost in the world to come are neither finite nor infinite, but indefinite.¶ He claims mostly as not holding the unmitigated doctrine of eternal punishment or as treating leniently deviation from it, Justin Martyr, Tatian, Irenæus, Lactantius, the two Gregories of Nyssa and Nazianzum, Jerome, and even Augustine.** He cites the words of St. Jerome: *Sciendum quod judicium Dei non possit scire humana fragilitas, nec de pœnarum magni-*

* Pusey, page 133. † *Ibid.*, page 4. ‡ *Ibid.*, page 6. § *Ibid.*, page 281.
‖ "*De Statu Mortuorum ac Resurgentium Tractatus.*" London, Ed. 2, 1728, Chap. II.
¶ *Ibid.*, Chap. X., p. 301. ** *Ibid.*, p. 302.

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tudine atque mensura ferre sententiam quæ Domini ad arbitrium derelicta est. He cites the phrase of St. Augustine for the milder teachers, "*doctores misericordes.*" He laments the careless incompleteness which many allow themselves in the process of thinking. Few, he says, examine the things themselves; they look only at the images of the things; which in their very selves we shall see when God removes the veil, *partim sub occasu hujus mundi, plenius autem in futuro.** He taunts the omniscience of large bodies of theologians; that is to say, their ignorance of their ignorance. He recommends to teach the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the dead, reward and penalty according to works and characters in the future world, with the great conflagration and the return of the Kingdom of Christ. Beyond these limits let us study mutual assistance and indulgence. No railing controversy upon matters *quae nos plane et aperto doceri noluit Deus in hoc statu.* Intolerance in such a matter is the commission of a great offence in the act of correcting a small one.†

He appears, however, really to have practised within himself the abstinence which he recommends, and he adopts neither of the theories which have their own respective trains of adherents, those of universalism and conditional immortality. He severely, however, censures such persons as seem to gloat over pictures of the misery of the greater part of the human race, and thinks it does not well comport with the character of Deity to ascribe to God the formation of a scheme of things wherein so great a part of reasonable nature is entirely cast away‡. I cannot but look upon this treatise as a noteworthy fact in the history of declared opinions on this difficult subject. Tennyson has said that it is the best, or of the best, in our nature which anxiously desires the restitution of the lost.

> "The wish, that of the living whole,
> No life may fail beyond the grave,
> Derives it not from what we have
> The likest God within the soul?"§

This great poet adds to his fine and singularly cultivated genius a great philosophical insight with which the "*In Memoriam*" is

* "*De Statu Mortuorum ac Resurgentium Tractatus*," London Ed. 2, 1728, Chap. II., page 310.
† *Ibid.*, pp. 310-4. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 307.
§ "*In Memoriam*," LV.

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charged throughout. A declaration, then, of this kind, proceeding from such an authority, calls for close consideration.

Justice to him requires that, in the first place, we should dismiss the idea that the thing thus to be desired in compliance with the promptings of our better nature is the prolongation of wicked existence in conjunction with enjoyment. That dispensation which associates sin with suffering is a supreme law of the universe, and he that rebels against it rebels against the moral order. To reverse that order, to associate virtue permanently with pain, and wickedness with pleasure or joy, is to establish something worse than moral chaos; it is to establish that which could only be established under the Zend, were Ahriman to conquer and extinguish Ormuzd.

Is then the *desiderandum* propounded to us somewhat of this fashion: That we should all long earnestly to see all evil wiped out from the universe? I suppose there can be no one whose heart is without a chord responsive to this desire. But let us observe that it covers a great deal; that it seems to carry us almost beyond our depth; that hesitation and misgiving may naturally arise if we, so infinitesimally puny as we are, in the face of the Almighty Author, are invited to concentrate our thought and to consecrate largely our emotion, to this more than heroic remedy for the disease of all creation; when, in the first place, the best exercise of all our powers is called for in the limitation and prevention of evil at our doors and within them, aye, in the very apple of our own eyes; and when, secondly, we have no outlook into the universe at large, and no knowledge, except at one narrow and remote corner, of the conditions under which its immense machinery is arranged and governed.

We seem to know, and to hold with some firmness of grasp the knowledge, that the invasion and activity of sin are not limited in their range to the race of Adam, or to beings who wear the human form. Unhappily, even in the lower orders of creation we perceive what, if it does not fully accomplish the idea of sin, seems to correspond under the conditions of a lower nature with what would be sin in a higher one. If we admit the authority of Holy Scripture, we are at once supplied with a cloud of testimonies to the destructive energy of him, or them, whose name is Legion. The temperance of the Christian Church has not laid upon the individual conscience the obligation, as we believe in God so

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also to believe in the existence of God's great adversary. But I presume that most Christians, who watch with any care their own mental and inward experience, are but too well convinced that they have to do with "principalities and powers, the rulers of the darkness of this world" *; that they are beset by a great personal scheme of evil agency, under which method and vigilance, employing whatever bad means, or even good, will serve their purpose, are raised in their work of seduction and ruin to what seems a terrible perfection. Now I must suppose that the words of Tennyson advisedly extend to the reclamation of these unhappy beings. I do not say that their pre-eminence in evil gives them a preferable claim to deliverance, but that what we are bound by the law of our nature to desire for our own race we must also desire for all those invested with a like title to sympathy, as the intelligent, sinning, and suffering creatures of Almighty God. Yet, from the precipitancy, shallowness, and superficiality of thought, with which this most grave subject is often approached, it seems probable that many of those who have treated it have never faced its broader aspects, or taken any careful measure of the demands that reason inexorably binds up with the principles on which they found their argument. For meagre indeed would be the scheme of thought which, entertaining a keen sympathy for the fallen of our own flesh and blood, had no room to spare for others, and left to their fate all who beyond those narrow limits had fallen into the same calamity.

The real question is not whether we should desire the recovery of lost souls, for which nature, as it is represented by Tennyson, cries out, but whether this should be the ruling or foremost idea with which we are habitually to contemplate the great subject of the final judgment. The difficulty is that it seems to be a taking into our own hands the tremendous question of the readjustment of a disordered world, with no knowledge except as to a very small part of the case, and without capacity, so far as our experience in matters of moral action and judgment teaches us, for the comprehension of the whole. Is there no preferable alternative? Is it beyond a hope to find a form of thought which, without shutting the door on any of our sympathies, leaves to the Supreme Governor the ordering of His own government? Those sympathies can require no apology, when we

* Eph. VI., 12.

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recollect how they swayed the soul of the Redeemer as he reflected on the calamities that the perverseness of sin was about to bring upon Jerusalem.* But have we no faith in His justice, in His goodness, in His power and will to harmonize the two? Have we ever taken measure of our own total incapacity to estimate moral actions with exactitude — an impotence so gross, that no prudent man will in cases of this kind ever form any beyond a provisional judgment on the deeds of our fellow-men? The judge on the bench, if he be wise, will not hold it for certain that he himself stands better before God than the criminal in the dock. Let us remember that the rule for us is "Judge not"; and we may be helped in the observance of this rule, by recollecting that there is One who judges, and who always judges right.

It may be proper to offer a few words on the mode now generally adopted of construing the word "death" in connection with the lot of the wicked in the future state.

In the first place, we may observe that it does not cover the whole case: for other words, commonly signifying the termination of an existence, are also employed in this connection; as, for example, when we are enjoined to fear Him, who is able to destroy both body and soul in hell. This double destruction is placed in contrast with a single destruction, that of the body, which is unquestionably absolute, and which therefore must, as it may be argued, have the same meaning.

In the second place, it may be noticed that this method of *hermeneusis* is one never applied to human affairs, unless it be in a sense avowedly figurative, and in cases only such as imply a postponement, not a cancellation, of the final catastrophe.

There is, thirdly, another incident of this method of interpretation which appears to have received less attention than it deserves. It will not be denied that, in its primary meaning, "death" is a word that conveys a single idea. It means the conclusion of some existence; it may be in whole or in part, but always something must conclude. It means no less than that one thing, and no more. But when we examine the peculiar process to which the word is submitted in connection with eschatology, we seem to find not only that the old idea of the word gives place to something new, but that an old idea which was single is succeeded by a new idea which is double. When the souls of the wicked are declared to

*Luke XIX., 41-4.

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have destruction or death for their doom, the meaning, as is alleged, is not only that they will survive, and survive forever, but that they will survive under a double condition, first, that of continual persistence in wickedness, and secondly of a co-extensive, and also never-ending, immersion in suffering. There appears to be presented here a good deal of difficulty. If we are told that life in like manner signifies in the future state both the goodness of the righteous and the enjoyment consequent upon that goodness, I demur to the proposition. The life promised is union with God, which is union with goodness. Enjoyment may be its inseparable accident, but it is not the thing signified; whereas, in the controversy concerning the wicked, everything is made and understood to turn upon their suffering, and the eternity of their vice is little heard of, and certainly is not the idea either primarily or prominently suggested to the mind.*

We first become acquainted, not with *aionios*, but with *aion*, so far back as in Homer. It is used eight times in the "Iliad," and five in the "Odyssey"; most commonly it is the simple equivalent of the Latin *vita*, and the English "life," relative to a man. Occasionally it means the heart or flower of life: especially in the address of Andromache to the dead Hector:†

ἄνερ, ἀπ' ἀιῶνος νέος ἄγλεο.

Here the effect of ἀπ' ἀιῶνος is that Hector (who was undoubtedly in his prime) is cut away not only from life, but from the flower of life. The clause in Psalm 102, 22, comes near it: "Take me not away *in the midst* of my days." We come next in classical Greek to the adjective *aionios*. But the Homeric use of the word shows vividly that the word is essentially relative rather than absolute. It is the *aion* of somebody or something; not abstract, not an exact counterpart of *mors* or of the English "death." With lapse of time comes a modification of the sense; and the meanings are given for it,‡ *lasting for an age, perpetual, everlasting, eternal.* In the *Nomoi* of Plato, the Maker forms the human being to be ἀνωλεθρον. . . . ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀιῶνιον, ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα, καθάπερ ὁι κατὰ νόμου ὁντες θεόι,‖ where the distinction seems to be taken between survival and immortality; our soul survives the death we know of, but death

* Olshausen, "*De significatione vocis ζωὴ in Libris N. T.*," shows that it means not happiness but life; and observes: *Verborum notio rarissime multiplex est.*
† Il., xxiv., 725. ‡ Liddell & Scott, *in voc.* ‖ *Nomoi*, p. 904.

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never comes at all to the acknowledged gods, who have an indefectible existence. But I have not seen in classical Greek any use of either the adjective or the substantive for eternity in the abstract, if we take the distinction between an expanse of time, to which no particular limit is attached, and a substantive eternity, consisting of time ceaselessly prolonged. Mr. De Quincey, who was both scholar and philosopher, has written a paper on this word, and he says, apparently with much truth: "The exact amount of the duration expressed by our *æon* depends altogether upon the particular subject which yields the *æon*." It is "the duration or cycle of existence which belongs to any object . . . in right of its genus."* An approximate rendering of the word *aionios* is perhaps to be found in "life-long." If this be the sense of Scripture, then the phrase as used in the parable of Matthew xxv. simply throws us back upon the question, what is the ordained life of the soul? Is it limited, or is it by its nature extended without end? The adjective will lend itself either way. That to which it will not bend (unless its meaning have undergone some vital change in the Greek of the New Testament) is the idea of a period which is affected by any limit unless it be that of the ordained life of the subject immediately in question. Some change it certainly may have undergone: it would be hazardous on my part to define the amount. Schleutner discusses the word with care in his lexicon, but he can only say the meaning is to be gathered in each passage where it is used from the context, the intention of the writer, the things and persons placed before us. De Quincey conceives that an ambiguous term is purposely employed in Scripture in order to evade,† we may rather say to veil, the question. We have before us this inevitable consideration: a punishment which was itself strictly comformable to the popular conception of eternity might have been set down in terms which would have precluded debate upon the meaning; and a veiling or reserving, or what may be called an open phrase, has been judged more meet for the purpose with which the Gospel was written. Were the doctrine of natural immortality authoritatively declared in Scripture, then indeed the sense of the phrase would be one absolutely closed.

* Hogg's "*De Quincey and His Friends*," pp. 308, 312.
† *Ibid.*, p. 3.

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There are two theories, which principally contest the field at the present day with the widespread and once almost undisputed traditional theory. Of these that which is termed the doctrine of conditional immortality has perhaps the larger number of adherents, and seems to be the better entitled to claim kindred with the orthodox. It begins by renouncing the opinion of natural immortality, and takes firm ground when denying to it authority or countenance from the Holy Scriptures. On the other hand, it renounces the conception of an existence prolonged without limit in the endurance of torment. But it neither teaches, nor approximates to the notion of, an extinction immediately consequent either upon death or upon the day of judgment. It does not attempt to find a particular limit for the ordained period of suffering; but holds that it is limited by the nature of the subject to which it is applied, and that sin is a poison to which the vital forces of the soul must in the end give way by passing into sheer extinction. It protests against the current method of interpretation, which assigns to "death" in the New Testament the meaning not of a cessation of existence, but of an existence prolonged without limit in a state of misery. And it insists upon recovering for the word that idea of a termination, which dwells in it as its central essence. Ethically, the destructive nature of sin against God is taken as the basis of this scheme of ideas; and it claims to work according to natural laws, in propounding, as the eventual solution of the problem, not suffering without any end for the wicked, but the extinction of their being at such time as the providence of God shall prescribe.

For reasons which I have not been able to discover, this theory of Conditionalism (of which I am not recommending the acceptance) is sometimes rejected by writers on the side of the traditional opinion with greater emphasis than the far more daring doctrine of Universalism. Yet it seems hardly conceivable that, if a theory so clean-cut had been the true mind of the revelation designed to teach and to restore mankind, its discovery should have been withheld until so late a period in the history of the Christian Church.

The speculation of Origen in favor of universal restoration, apparently intended by himself for the schools, has in our day been extensively revived *coram populo*. The revival may have been to a large extent vague and declamatory, or feeble, timid,

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commonplace; and it has exhibited but little evidence of masculine attempt to grapple with the full conditions of the formidable problem. Yet it presents to us considerable dangers by reason of the fact that it has enlisted, so to speak, a suborned witness on its behalf. That suborned witness is the world of to-day which, as against the unseen world, has acquired a vast increase of force from the increase of wealth and the multiplication of material and social enjoyments, unaccompanied by any countervailing stimulus to the life of faith, and also largely favored by the carnal spirit of division still largely prevalent among Christians.

This theory, known by the name of Universalism, does not deny that punishment is due as an appropriate consequence to wrong-doing. It does not even define any particular measure of quantity, quality, or duration, as the limit of what justice will allow to be administered. And it concedes the proposition that penalty awaits the wicked after death. But it seems to view retribution rather as a sentence delivered, so to speak, from the bench, and administered *ab extra*, than as an inherent effect of a cause naturally producing it. So regarding the pains of the future, it proceeds to argue that an infinite debt cannot be contracted in a finite, and indeed a very narrowly bounded, time. It therefore protests against unlimited penal results from limited offences; and propounds that when the debt is paid, the goodness of God, finding the sole bar removed, will secure the universal happiness of mankind. And some at least have not failed to perceive that the premises of this argument are wider than its conclusion; that, as Origen may have perceived, they include every creature lapsed from righteousness; that "the devil and his angels"* in consequence have a certain prospect of escape from the lot prepared as the reward of their obstinate and ruinous misdoing. And, what may seem strange, it is included in the scheme of these reasoners that the future fate of fallen angels is disclosed in a revelation made to the children of men.

Upon this scheme of Universalism or Restitutionism, although it be the speculation of a great man, I cannot but speak in terms of repugnance, on the following grounds. It proceeds in utter contempt of the solemn declarations of our Lord, who has supplied us for our greater security with two declarations bearing on this subject that are surely of profound importance.

* Matthew XXV., 41.

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First, there is a form of sin which is called the sin against the Holy Ghost, which clearly brings home to us that we have a real capacity of spiritual suicide. The quenching of the spirit,* the lying to the Holy Ghost,† which are so terrible, lead us up step by step to a yet more deadly condemnation. There is a sin that cannot be pardoned. This sin is formally described in each of the three synoptic Gospels, and plainly referred to by the fourth Evangelist, Saint John, when in his first epistle he declares that there is a sin unto death which he declines to include in the general rule of prayer for the pardon of sin.‡ The fullest of the three synoptical notices is that of St. Matthew§: "All manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men, but the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven unto men. And whosover speaketh a word against the Son of Man, it shall be forgiven him; but whosoever speaketh against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, neither in the world to come." The declaration is, as it were, cased in armor by being made to reach over our whole existence. That existence reaches over two worlds; and forgiveness can never be, neither in this world, neither in the world to come.‖ Even more stringent, if possible, is the second declaration: "Better had it been for that man if he had never been born."¶ The theory before us is neither more nor less than flat contradiction of a divine utterance clothed with peculiar solemnity. If our existence is measured out in simple duration and if the largest conceivable amount and highest quality of sin is only to be visited with a finite share of that duration beyond which lies a stretch of happy existence reaching into immeasurable distance, then, as the infinite exceeds the finite, the sinner who commits the sin is not a loser but a great gainer by coming into the sphere of living entities. To presume upon over-riding the express declarations of the Lord Himself, delivered upon His own authority, is surely to break up revealed religion in its very groundwork, and to substitute for it a flimsy speculation, spun like the spider's web by the private spirit, and about as little capable as that web of bearing the strain by which the false is to be severed from the true.

It is not surprising to find that those who prefer their own

* I. Thess. V., 19. † Acts V., 3. ‡ I. John V., 16.
§ Matt. XII., 31, 2; Mark III., 28; Luke XII. 10.
‖ Matt. X., 28. ¶ Matt. XXVI., 24; Mark XIV., 21.

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fancies to the solemn declarations of the Lord, should also prefer them to the lessons of life and fact, and to all true and searching philosophy of human nature. If there be one fact more largely and solidly established by experience than any other, it is, apart from all controversy as to the relative weight of environment and endowment, that conduct is the instrument by which character is formed, and that habit systematically pursued tends to harden into fixity. This is testified by what is so often said in the case of new ideas and methods, that it is idle to teach such things to the old, and that real progress is only to be made by impressing them upon the elastic and malleable minds of a new generation. The settled laws of our nature are the corner stones of our education, as well as the landmarks of our Creator's will concerning us; from them we are enabled to comprehend the dispensation under which we live, and to turn it to account. But here there has arisen a tribe, it might perhaps be said, of philosophasters, who tell us that the experience of mankind tested through so many generations is illusion, and that its lessons are henceforth to be read backwards. They rely upon the guidance of an inner sense vouchsafed to them after it has been withheld from all their fellow creatures, for even the heathen mind in the extremities of its bewilderment and need did not catch at a straw as if it were a prop, nor practise upon itself under the notion of a supreme enlightenment a superlative trick of self-delusion. I do not deny that there are those who, having appointed themselves to the benevolent labor of reforming the universe, may, in the pursuit of their aim, attain even to this height of mental excess, but I hold that, in destroying the foundations of our belief in the observed facts of human nature, they are destroying the foundations of every other belief, their own favorite scheme included.

But further. Such mental freaks cannot be indulged without producing wider consequences than any that their authors have intended. These inventors are revolutionists not only as towards the dispensation we live under, but as towards human nature itself, and all the modes in which it is rationally impelled to action, or guided in pursuing it. It is remarkable that this scheme is not commonly a plan for the reformation of character, with the cessation of penalty as a natural consequence; but rather a repeal of penalty, with reformation of character playing an altogether secondary part: at the very best a reformation

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brought about arbitrarily, and in defiance of all known laws. And those stern denunciations of Holy Scripture, which on a long course of trial have been found none too strong for their purpose, it is deliberately sought to relax, by promising to every sinner of whatever inveteracy, audacity, and hardness, an endless period of immunity from suffering; after a period spent in it, which they have no means of defining, and which every offender is therefore left to retrench at his own pleasure, on his own behalf. What is this but to emasculate all the sanctions of religion, and to give wickedness, already under too feeble restraint, a new range of license?

The appeal to Scripture in support of these ideas is so slenderly sustained as to suggest that it is made in order to supply the weaker brethren with a handful of material such as may suffice to suppress lingering scruples. There is, as we know, to be a regeneration, a restitution of all things: harmony will everywhere prevail, wickedness will disappear from view. Christ must reign till he hath put all things under his feet, and when all things are thus subdued then God shall be all in all.* But they received the answer from one quarter that sin will be effectually put away by being reduced to impotence; and from another school of thought, not perhaps wholly out of sympathy with theirs, they are reminded that their method is yet more conclusively to dispose of sin by annihilation.

Upon this scheme I cannot stop short of owning the impression it makes on my mind to be this. Failing to take heed that the entire dealings with impenitent sinners have only in a very small degree been disclosed to us, and impatient of this vacuum which they think they have detected in the Divine Revelation, they undertake to fill the gap by going outside it altogether, and what is really neither more nor less than constructing a revelation for themselves.

W. E. GLADSTONE.

(To be Continued.)

* I Cor. XV., 27, 8.

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PROBLEMS OF THE TRANSVAAL.

BY KARL BLIND.

TWELVE years ago, when the Transvaal deputation came to London for the purpose of having the treaty of 1881 set aside and a new one put in its place, I repeatedly met Paul Krüger, the President of the South African Republic; General Smit, who had defeated the English troops at Majuba Hill; and the Rev. S. J. Du Toit, the Minister of Public Instruction. On one occasion it was at the house of Dr. Clark, who for some time acted as Consul-General of the Republic in England, and has been for years a member of the House of Commons. Jonkheer Beelaerts van Blokland was then also present, a member of the House of Deputies in the Netherlands, and during several years its Speaker. He is now the plenipotentiary envoy of the South African Republic to the governments of several Continental countries.

Our intercourse on that occasion, as well as when I was alone with the members of the deputation and their companion and secretary, Mr. Esselen, was of the friendliest and most confidential kind. In 1881 I had been a member of the Executive of the Transvaal Independence Committee in London, whose object it was to bring about the restoration of the rights of the oppressed Boer commonwealth. Not a few of the resolutions tending thereto had been framed by me. It need, therefore, scarcely be said that no opportunity was lacking for learning the state of things at the very source. My sympathies with the cause of a free country, which had been lawlessly overrun under Lord Beaconsfield whilst it was engaged in a dangerous war with natives, were self-understood.

Since the grave complication which has arisen through Dr. Jameson's robber-like raid, I have often been asked about Mr.

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Krüger's personal appearance. I found him, in outward look, a simple man of the people, with strong, homely features, such as may often be seen among the masses in the Netherlands and in Lower Germany. His otherwise clean-shaven face was framed by bushy whiskers and a goatee beard. In his blue eyes there sparkled a strong gleam of quiet watchfulness. The whole caste of countenance indicated firmness of purpose. As the grandson of a German, he bore the unmistakeable mark of his descent. In his dress there was not the slightest pretence to elegance, but rather utter simplicity. He comfortably smoked his short pipe with manifest tranquillity of mind, but a close observer could not mistake the stubbornness underlying that calm behavior.

General Smit, whose name is connected with a famed historical deed, had a reserved and somewhat reticent manner. Full-bearded, and of fine traits, he was—so I heard—practically one-eyed, but in the sound eye left to him there was a penetrating glance. He seemed to be wholly a man of action, of very few words, but an attentive listener withal. Both Mr. Krüger and he spoke only in Dutch. The Rev. Mr. Du Toit, a small, dapper man, of darker hue than his companions, showed his French Huguenot blood clearly in his face and figure. He spoke English with perfect ease, and also knew German a little. I was somewhat surprised to find that he could not converse in the tongue of his ancestors; but the Huguenots who, centuries ago, went to Holland, and from there to the Cape, soon became fully merged with the Dutch, thus losing their native speech. Many family names of theirs were even adapted to the Teutonic language of the Hollanders, so that their original French meaning is only recognizable now to the learned.

I may mention here that the Dutch spoken and written in South Africa by the mass of the population of Netherlandish origin is somewhat different from the tongue of Holland itself. At the Cape, in the Orange Free State, and in Transvaal, a distinction is made between Dutch, African Dutch, and what is, curiously enough, simply called the African tongue. By the first-named word, the pure and genuine Dutch of Holland (*het zuivere, echte Hollands van Holland*) is meant. The second word refers to the language written and spoken in South Africa by the more cultivated classes—a language very close to Dutch proper, yet slightly different in its forms. The third

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word, "African," signifies the peasant dialect of the Transvaal people. Now, to that dialect most descendants of those who were driven forth repeatedly into the wilderness by English rule, cling very tenaciously. They consider it a means, so to say, of additionally marking their own national character, as expressed in their republican form of government.

This three-fold shading-off in speech has, however, its disadvantages. It has acted to the detriment of the Dutch language in general; the spread of the English tongue, which is not hampered by such internal divisions, having been rather facilitated thereby. There is a movement now on foot in South Africa for bringing about a greater equalization in the written Dutch language, both as to its words and its orthography.

Being able to read the speech of the Netherlands, I had no difficulty in following what was said in that tongue by Mr. Du Toit. In Mr. Krüger's remarks, there frequently occurred dialect expressions less easily understood; but then the perfect English of the Minister of Public Instruction was at hand, and through him the conversation was mainly conducted.

On the subject at issue, there was of course, from the beginning, a thorough agreement. I have always prized the free institutions of England, on whose shores, in dire times of distress and persecution, after the overthrow of the popular cause on the Continent, I had found safety and new friends. At the same time I could not but take the side of a free Commonwealth, which, under a reactionary English Government, had been lawlessly overthrown, and whose burghers, in Mr. Gladstone's own words, when he was acting as leader of the opposition, were "rightly struggling to be free."

Mr. Gladstone called it a dishonorable and an insane act to endeavor "governing despotically a community of men who never were under our despotic power before," who were "Protestants in religion, Hollanders in origin, vigorous and obstinate and tenacious in character, even as we are ourselves." He spoke of "England being in the strange predicament of the free subjects of a Monarchy going to coerce the free subjects of a Republic, and to compel them to accept a citizenship which they decline and refuse." This was said at the end of 1879 and in the first months of 1880, on the eve of the Liberals coming to power with Mr. Gladstone as Prime Minister.

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Mr. Chamberlain, now the Minister for the Colonies, once spoke of the Boers as of "a homely, industrious nation, animated by a deep and even stern religious sentiment, and they inherit from their ancestors—the men who won the independence of Holland from the oppressive rule of Philip II., of Spain—they inherit from them their unconquerable love of freedom and liberty. Are not these qualities which commend themselves to men of the English race? Are they not virtues which we are proud to think form the best characteristics of the English race? These men settled in the Transvaal in order to escape foreign rule. They had had many quarrels with the British. They left their homes in Natal, as the English Puritans left England and went to the United States, and they founded a little republic of their own in the heart of Africa. In 1852 we made a treaty with them. They agreed to give up slavery, which had hitherto prevailed in their midst, and we agreed to respect and guarantee their independence; and I say, under these circumstances, is it possible we could maintain a forcible annexation of the country without the accusation of having been guilty, I will not say of national folly, but I say of a national crime?"

In speaking of the Puritans going to the United States, Mr. Chamberlain anticipated, as it were, in the heat of the discourse, the establishment of a form of government in America in which the Puritans certainly had a good share. From the tone of the two prominent Liberal leaders just quoted, as well as from discourses of Lord Hartington, it may be gathered what the feeling then was among the advanced section of their party. Unfortunately, when the new Liberal Government soon afterwards came in after general elections, the promises made were not fulfilled. Seeing themselves deceived in their hopes, the citizens of the Transvaal thereupon rose with arms in hands, and finally gained the victory over the regular troops of England.

In the meanwhile, as matters threatened to come to a head, a "Transvaal Independence Committee" had been formed in London, with a goodly number of members of Parliament in it. The late Sir Charles Trevelyan, formerly Governor of Madras and Financial Minister in India, proposed the first resolution for the establishment of the committee; but expressed himself in rather timid terms, warning against anything being done which might lay the members open to a charge of high treason. This

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was rather calculated to damp the spirits of those present and gave small hope of an energetic agitation.

After Dr. Clark had seconded the proposition, I therefore thought it my duty to say at once that our aim and object must be the restoration of the full and absolute independence of the Transvaal under its old name, the South African Republic. In the subsequent deliberations of our committee, Sir Charles Trevelyan (the father of the ex-Cabinet Minister in Mr. Gladstone's last government) did not take part any more; and pusillanimous counsels were no longer heard.

By its firm resolutions, by the action of members of Parliament who were in connection with it, and by public meetings, the Committee succeeded in rousing Liberal public opinion thoroughly. Yet, Government gave no sign of doing the right thing, in the sense of making good the promises held out by its chief leaders, when in opposition. So the war between mighty England and the small population of Boers scattered over the vast Transvaal territory went on, much to the indignation of the progressive parties all over Europe. Under these circumstances, the idea was started, during the presence, in London, of three delegates of the Transvaal Committee from Holland, of getting up an International Address, to be presented to a prominent member of the English Government, and for which signatures would be sought, first of all, from the foremost leaders of thought in Europe and America—men distinguished in science, in literature, in poetry, as well as in politics.

Proceeding from this idea, I drew up the following memorial to the Right Hon. John Bright, who during the American war had also proved to be on the right side:

"SIR: At a moment when England has to contend against home difficulties of unusual magnitude—difficulties in regard to which all true and sensible friends of Progress hope at the same time for reform, and for the firm maintenance of the great state structure of the British realm—it is a painful sight to the well-wishers of the powerful English nation to see its military forces engaged in a life and death struggle with one of the smallest self governing communities of the earth, for the sake of maintaining an unprovoked and unjust aggresion, against which the overwhelming majority of that community has repeatedly protested, and which some of the foremost men of the present English Government have themselves stigmatized as an 'unwise,' nay, an 'insane,' act, an act of wrongful invasion and of 'despotism,' which ought not to be upheld by force of arms against an unwilling people of freemen.

"We are glad, however, to find that the public conscience of England is

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beginning to be awakened, that thousands of men among you are already calling for an act of justice and generosity, which would only do honor to the Government by stopping a deplorable war in which the first principles are violated that are acknowledged as guiding maxims by all those who acknowledge popular right.

"Loath as we are to have the slightest appearance of desiring to interfere in the public concerns of your nation, we feel justified in saying, on the part of numerous sympathizers among us, that we readily join our voices, to those among your countrymen who wish to see the claims of the South African Republic treated in the sense indicated by the former speeches of Mr. Gladstone and the Marquis of Hartington. We trust, nay, we are fully convinced from your long and noble championship of the people's cause that these cannot but be also your own views; and hence it is to you that we take the liberty of addressing this appeal—which is an appeal in favor of Humanity, of Public Right, of Popular Self government, and of Peace."

The hope I entertained of seeing this International Address numerously signed by distinguished representative men, was fully realized. For many days letters and telegrams poured in at the Committee Rooms and in my house, from the Netherlands, from Germany, Austria-Hungary, France and Italy; those from the Universities of Leyden and Utrecht, in Holland, and from Germany, being especially numerous. Among the signatures were those of Professor Harting, Professor Kuenen, Berthold Auerbach, Dr. Bluntschli, Friedrich von Bodenstedt, Professor Ludwig Büchner, Dr. Moritz Carrière, Felix Dahn, George Ebers, Kuno Fischer, Professor Forchhammer, Ernst Haeckel, Prof. Franz von Holtzendorff, Emil Rittershaus, Dr. Schultze-Delitzsch, Professor Schleiden, Rudolph Virchow, Dr. Max Wirth, Friedrich Kapp, Johannes Ronge, Ludwig Walisrode, Dr. Eduard Herbst and Franz Rechbauer (both leading members of the Austrian Reichsrath), Heinrich Laube, Edmond About, Louis Blanc, Pascal Duprat, Victor Schoelcher, Wilfrid de Fonvielle, Dr. A. Regnard, Auguste Vacquerie, Count Terenzio Mamiani, Aurelio Saffi, once the co-Triumvir of Mazzini, in the Roman Republic, and many others. It was a galaxy of men of science, of philosophers, poets, political economists, and parliamentary leaders.

The introductory words of the address were in conformity with John Bright's well-known Liberal Unionist views in home affairs. He had been the champion of the American Union Cause at a time when it was difficult in the extreme to make headway against the current of English opinion; and he was in his own country for the maintenance of the Legislative Union between Great Britain

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and Ireland. In a letter I wrote to him at the request of the Transvaal Independence Committee, when forwarding the International Appeal, I said, as regards the prominent men who had signed it:

"In not a few cases, some of the most distinguished among them have added letters in which they express the warmest feelings of esteem for the English nation as the promoter of civilization, progress, and freedom; declaring at the same time, in almost identical terms, though writing from different places, that they consider it a great honor to be allowed to sign their names to an appeal addressed to you personally. The interesting remembrance of conversations I had the pleasure of holding with you some time ago makes it all the more a grateful task to be the intermediary of this communication."

I had met John Bright at the reception of General Grant in London, in consequence of an invitation addressed to me and my wife by the American Minister. I had also held extensive conversation with him at a friend's house during the last Russo-Turkish war, when, after dinner, he not only spoke to me on that subject, with great animation, for an astoundingly long time, but even insisted afterwards on accompanying me, towards midnight, through the streets, so as to continue the conversation yet longer. On that question, it is true, we could come to no agreement, his somewhat pro-Russian views being totally opposed to mine. I had also been in correspondence with John Bright, whose Unionist views in Irish affairs I fully shared. It was to such previous personal contact that the concluding words of my letter to him on Transvaal affairs referred.

His answer ran thus:

132 PICCADILLY, March 14, 1881.

DEAR SIR: I thank you for the Memorial you have forwarded to me, and for the friendly letter from yourself on the sad question of the Transvaal difficulty.

I hope the prospect is one of peace and not of further war, and that an arrangement may be made satisfactory to the Transvaal people, and honorable to this country. *I scarcely need to assure you that whatever influence I possess is being and will be exerted in favor of peace.* The conflict is one in which England can gain nothing; not even military glory, which is the poorest kind of glory, in my view, which men and nations strive for. I hope the time may come when nations will seek and obtain honorable renown by deeds of mercy and justice.

This reply to your letter and the memorial is brief, but, under the circumstances, I feel sure that you and your friends will excuse its brevity.

Believe me to be very sincerely yours,

JOHN BRIGHT.

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Such a declaration on the part of a Cabinet Minister who once had been called the "Tribune of the People," who stood next in importance to Mr. Gladstone, and who, from a popular point of view, was even the chief leading force, could not but have a signal effect. The discussions in the English Cabinet are always strictly withheld from public knowledge. There could be no doubt, however, in what sense Mr. Bright would, after the presentation of such a memorial, exert his influence in the Cabinet. As a matter of fact, peace was soon afterwards concluded. "Complete self-government" was restored to the Transvaal territory, as it had been called since its violent annexation to the English Colonial possessions; and it was henceforth to be known under the name of the "Transvaal State."

Its old name, the South African Republic, was thus avoided. Worse than this, it was declared to be "subject to the suzerainty of Her Majesty, her heirs and successors." Nay, the English Crown reserved to itself "the right to move troops through the said State in time of war, or in case of the apprehension of immediate war between the suzerain power and any foreign State or native tribe in South Africa." A British Resident was also appointed "as representative of the suzerain," and he was to "receive from the government of the Transvaal State such assistance and support as can by law be given to him for the due discharge of his functions."

These conditions agreed to, under stress of circumstances, by numerically so small a people, who had bearded and inflicted a signal defeat upon a country owning the seventh part of the globe, were felt to be intolerable, in the long run, by the mass of the Boers. They were resolved, cost it what it would, not to bear any longer a foreign suzerainty. Hence the Deputation from the Transvaal in 1883, composed—as mentioned before—of President Krüger, General Smit, and the Rev. Mr. Du Toit.

After protracted negotiations, they succeeded in having the English suzerainty claim, which had been inscribed in the preamble and in three paragraphs (2, 18 and 33) of the Convention of 1881, *formally struck out*. Together with this, the right of the Crown to move troops through the Transvaal in time of war or in case of the apprehension of immediate war was also abolished. Once more the country was now acknowledged as the South African Republic. The British Resident, too, was done away with.

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In the third article of this new Treaty of February 27, 1884, it was laid down that, if a British officer is appointed to discharge functions analgous to those of a Consul, he will receive the protection of the Republic. So the Commonwealth was again independent. It was no longer under the protection of a suzerain, but on the contrary, it gave protection to the Consul of what was henceforth again—as before 1877—a foreign Power.

In spite of this clear arrangement the existence of a suzerainty has for years been over and over again asserted in the English press and by agitators bent upon destroying the South African Republic. One of the most persistent among these latter is, I regret to say, an American by origin, therefore, a born Republican, Sir Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett, a member of the Conservative party in the English House of Commons. Since the failure of Dr. Jameson's robber-like raid, the object of which—in the words of the *Daily News*—was to steal the gold and diamond fields of the Transvaal, these disappointed annexationists have falsely and unscrupulously sought to deceive public opinion by alleging the continuance of the suzerainty. They have called the South African Republic a "British territory," a "colony," a "vassal" of the English crown; nay, even simply "our own." But they have carefully refrained from dealing with the irrefutable evidence contained in Lord Derby's correspondence with the Transvaal Deputation, in the text of the new Treaty of 1884, and in the confessions made both by Mr. W. H. Smith, the First Lord of the Treasury of a Conservative Cabinet, on February 28, 1890, and by Mr. Buxton, a Liberal Minister, on July 3, 1890.

I can testify that the Transvaal Deputation would never have signed the new treaty if the suzerainty title had not been struck out. They came to London for that purpose, and they succeeded in it. The assertion made by the would-be annexationists that the treaty of 1884 is merely a modification of the Convention of 1881, and that the preamble of the latter, which speaks of suzerainty, still holds good, is given the lie to by Lord Derby's letter to the Transvaal Deputation of February 15, 1884. There he wrote :

"The progress which has been made, appears to me to render it convenient that I should now transmit for your perusal a draft of the *new Convention* which Her Majesty's Government propose *in substitution for the*

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Convention of Pretoria. In this draft the articles of the Convention of Pretoria, which will no longer be in force, have been printed alongside of the proposed new articles, and where an article is retained and altered, the alterations have been shown in order to explain clearly the changes that will be made."

Now, in the preamble of the new treaty, and in all its paragraphs, the suzerainty is entirely dropped. A single paragraph of the old treaty, referring to complete freedom of religion, was preserved and literally embodied in the new treaty. Years afterwards, in answer to interpellations, both a Conservative and a Liberal Minister, Mr. Smith and Mr. Buxton, acknowledged in Parliament that the treaty of 1884 contains no reservation of the Queen's right of suzerainty. Public opinion in England, unacquainted as it is with the diplomatic documents, is, therefore, shamefully duped by those who still affirm the existence of a suzerainty, and who craftily endeavor to read the provisions of the older abolished convention into the entirely new one.

I can speak with all the greater confidence of these matters as I had full personal opportunity of following the course of the negotiations of 1883–84. Half an hour before the treaty was finally signed, its English and Dutch text was placed in my hands at the residence of the Transvaal Deputation, where I had again seen President Krüger. From sympathy with the cause of a wronged republic I have held it to be a duty to bear testimony to this main point in letters to the *Times*, the *Daily News*, and the *North British Daily Mail;* and no one has dared to dispute the plain facts.

It is from the fourth article of the new Treaty of 1884 that the enemies of the South African Republic, who untruthfully mix up the two treaties, try once more to evolve a suzerainty claim. That article says that :

"The South African Republic will conclude no treaty or engagement with any State or nation other than the Orange Free State, nor with any native tribe to the eastward or westward of the Republic, until the same has been approved by Her Majesty the Queen."

It is added that such approval shall be considered to have been granted, if Her Majesty's Government shall not, within six months, have notified that the conclusion of the treaty is in conflict with British interests. This is, no doubt, an irksome stipulation; but it does not constitute a suzerainty, which, as

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stated, was formally abolished. I may mention here that, in conversation with the Transvaal Deputation, previous to the signature of the treaty, I expressed my firm belief that, if they refused signing any stipulation which would encroach in whatsoever manner upon the full rights of their country, they would be sure to gain their point. The state of affairs inside and outside the Cabinet was then such that I had not the slightest doubt about their final success. However, the Deputation were satisfied with having realized their main object and acceded to a stipulation which they probably—but as is seen now, erroneously—thought to be of small consequence.

Here it may be remarked that, historically speaking, many a weak country has now and then had to make an irksome concession to a strong power, without the latter becoming thereby constituted Suzerain, or regaining a suzerainty which it had relinquished. Yet, there are also other cases in which a weak community obtained remarkable privileges at the expense of a strong power. Thus the Swiss Confederacy had the right, even after the peace of Westphalia (1648), of moving its troops, if a war threatened, up to a certain line in the German Black Forest, for the better protection of its own exposed northern frontier. Now, did the great German Empire thereby become the vassal of little Switzerland?

Even down to our days, the Swiss Confederacy maintained its right of sending troops, in a similar case, into Savoy. Now, did the Kingdom of Sardinia thereby become the vassal of Switzerland? The idea is absurd. Well, in the same way the South African Republic, after having had English suzerainty struck out, does not become the vassal of England through the separate stipulation in Article IV. of the Treaty of 1884. I have insisted on this for years; and it is now the expressed view of legists, statesmen and governments all over Europe.

On the part of England, the spirit of the Treaty of 1884 has undoubtedly been violated in consequence of English forces having overrun and annexed the territory north of the South African Republic, with whose native tribes the latter, according to the fourth article, had been left free to enter into treaties. That possibility was thus forcibly taken away from the Boer Commonwealth, which was surrounded and hemmed in from all

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sides, to be squelched and extinguished at some convenient time.

Still, even so late as December 31 of last year, when Dr. Jameson burst into the Transvaal, Mr. Chamberlain, as Minister of the Colonies, acknowledged in a despatch to the British South Africa Company, that "the South African Republic is *a foreign State*, with which Her Majesty is at peace and *in treaty relations.*" In the course of the same despatch he repeatedly speaks of that Commonwealth as a foreign State and *"a foreign power,"* saying that "one of the obligations of Her Majesty the Queen is to respect the right to self-government of the South African Republic, subject to the provisions of the Conventions between Her Majesty and that State."

Now, a foreign power cannot possibly be a vassal, a colony, or a territory, of another power. The only slip in Mr. Chamberlains despatch is, that it refers to "Conventions" in the plural instead of to *the* Convention of 1884; the one of 1881 having been altogether superseded, as Lord Derby himself averred for the satisfaction of the Transvaal Deputation, before the new treaty was signed.

It has been a painful duty to me to have to expose all the attempts made by force, fraud, and frivolous misrepresentation against the rights of a free commonwealth by citizens of a country which has become to me a second home, and whose cause I have not rarely defended, though rather, now and then, to my personal disadvantage. But even as in the case of the great American Republic, more than thirty years ago, when English statesmen and the vast majority of the governing classes went utterly wrong, so also in the case of the South African Republic, I could not shirk that task, however unpleasant. I felt it all the more a bounden duty, because the Transvaal Deputation before leaving London, had entrusted the defence of their cause, so to say, to my hands for the future.*

Of the aims and objects and the authorship of the last crimi-

* Letter of the Transvaal Deputation to Karl Blind:

ALBEMARLE HOTEL, Albemarle Street, London, W.,
June 18, 1884.

MY DEAR SIR:—Allow me heartily to thank you for the kind sentiments expressed in yours of yesterday's date, which is quite in accordance with your sympathy always shown in every struggle of the oppressed against the oppressor, and especially of our young Republic, which we confidently recommend to your favor for the future. The Deputation most heartily greets you and your friends.

Yours sincerely,
S. I. DU TOIT.

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nal assault against the South African Republic, there is full evidence at hand. It was the enterprise of a financial and mining ring, with whose pecuniary interests not a few high-born and titled personages in England are bound up. The Chartered Company's shares having been depreciated, a new Golden Age was to be introduced by the aid of free-booters with Maxim guns. It is a Panama affair on other lines.

Together with this corrupt motive, the ambition of the so-called "Diamond King," the "Napoleon of South Africa"—or perhaps it would be more correct to say now, the Boulanger of South Africa—was the decisive element in the concoction of the scheme. There is a party which aims at the foundation of an "African Empire from the Cape to Cairo." The Transvaal Republic and the Orange Free State are stumbling blocks in its way. This great African party is impatient even of the existence of German and Portuguese colonies and of the extent of the Congo Free State. It would fain do away with all these impediments, by hook or by crook.

Mr. Cecil Rhodes, who is at the bottom of the venture, at one time handed the useful sum of £10,000 to Mr. Parnell, when the object was so to embroil and to occupy England, his own native country, at home as to leave him a free hand in South Africa. It was a curious proof of lofty patriotism. Incidentally, I may mention here that in 1881, during the struggle of the Transvaal burghers, there was a plan started in London of joining the Irish cause to that of the Boers, by sending out free corps to the latter, whilst in Ireland itself the crisis was at its height. As a member of the Transvaal Independence Committee, I set my face at once, in the responsible quarter of the committee, against this idea of endangering the legislative institutions of the United Kingdom, and the proposal was dropped. Had it ever been brought before the Committee it would certainly have been rejected.

Whilst formerly acting as the confederate of the Irish League, Mr. Rhodes, for purposes of his own, underwent various subsequent changes in his political attitude. Originally on the English side in the Cape Colony, he made a compact with the Dutch party in order to gain the support of the so-called "Africander Bond," and to maintain himself in the Premiership. Then he turned "English" once more, and even succeeded in being appointed a member of the Queen's Privy Council.

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Having shown himself false to the principles of the Africander League, which represents the Dutch element in South Africa, and which counts adherents also in the Transvaal, he aimed at the overthrow of the South African Republic, whose productive diamond and gold fields had excited the cupidity of the Chartered Company, of which he is a director and the leading spirit. The expected yield in gold and silver and precious stones of Mashonaland and Matabeleland had not come up to the hopes of the Chartered Company. Its shares had gone down. So it was resolved to make the Transvaal Republic go down and to seize its property, when the Orange Free State would soon collapse, too. No wonder the leader of the Dutch party at the Cape, Mr. Hofmeyr, feeling his own party betrayed, cut his connection with Mr. Rhodes, with whom formerly he had been hand in glove.

No sooner had Mr. Rhodes fled than President Krüger was advised by an English Unionist Government to grant Home Rule to the Rand! What would be said in England if, immediately after an insurrectionary French inroad into Ireland, a French government were to urge England to grant home rule to the Emerald Isle? No wonder the head of the South African Republic sees in the hasty publication of such a scheme, which in his opinion would simply be a new means of organizing civil war, little hope for the quieting down of the very natural apprehensions of his fellow-citizens.

Add to this that all kinds of English politicians and many papers, following a recent cue from headquarters, are in the habit now of speaking of England as "the paramount Power" in South Africa. To many of them this evidently seems a more convenient phrase than the provably false title of "suzerainty." But it is an equally deceptive expression. England is certainly the paramount Power at the Cape, in Natal, and in all her own possessions in South Africa. But she is not the paramount Power in the perfectly independent Orange Free State, nor in the Transvaal Republic, which in 1884 got rid of her suzerainty. Nor is she, of course, the paramount Power in the large Portuguese and German possessions on the eastern and western coast of South Africa, or in the Congo Free State, a considerable section of which lies within the South African region.

Public opinion all over the continent of Europe has, on this

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present occasion, declared against the wrong done to an inoffensive free commonwealth. In Germany the feeling has been specially strong. It is to be accounted for partly by the interests which Germany has in South Africa; partly by the close kinship in race and speech between the Boers and the people of Lower Germany; partly by the appeal which President Krüger made in 1884, when he came to Berlin, to the German Government—an appeal he repeated in a speech at Pretoria last year on the occasion of a festival held on the birthday of William II. A responsive chord was early struck. The first President of the Transvaal Republic, Pretorius, after whom the capital is named, was of German origin. Mr. Krüger's ancestors, he is fond of saying, were Germans. There are various settlements in the Transvaal Republic bearing German town-names, such as Heidelberg, and several others. In the last dangerous crisis the great majority of the German immigrants sided with the Republic offering their services as soldiers without delay.

Only those who want to destroy the Republic could take offence at the display of these sympathies. It was in consequence—as is well known now—of a telegram, dated December 31, from German inhabitants of Pretoria to the Emperor William that he sent to President Krüger the congratulatory message which raised such a needless alarm and indignation in England. As to the alleged desire of the Transvaal Government to see a German imperial protectorate established over the South African Republic, nothing could certainly be further from the intentions of President Krüger and his doughty countryman. Nor is there any such desire and intention in Germany itself. Her Minister of Foreign Affairs has spoken out clearly on that point.

All that Germany and other continental powers insist on is that no violence should be attempted against the South African Republic. If even an emperor says so, for once, that pleasure need not be grudged to him. In the German White Book, his utterance, being out of the range of diplomacy and a strictly personal one, is not recorded. The ministry of the Empire, however, covers his sentiments with its own responsibility; and for the sake of the maintenance of the republic, that is so far correct and satisfactory. Of hostility to England, there is nothing in all this, unless it were held to be a hostile act to condemn a highhanded freebooter who has proved false to the

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official trust placed in him, whose lawless deed has been censured by the English Government itself, but who has been sung as a hero by the new poet laureate.

It would be an evil day for Europe if two nations like England and Germany, brothers in blood, and natural friends, who have stood shoulder to shoulder on battle-fields, in order to resist the aggressions of ambitious French despots, were to be estranged, owing to the criminal deed of a faithless English Administrator. What would become of international right and justice if such an act as his were tolerated and condoned?

There is Switzerland. She has a population of barely three millions, and is surrounded by three great monarchies and by another country which has, within this century, six times changed its institutions from the Republican to the Imperial, Royal, and again to the Republican form of government. Those four countries possess enormous military strength. Switzerland might be torn to pieces by them to-morrow, if her existence were not placed under international guarantee. She might be divided among Germany, of which centuries ago she formed an integral part, France and Italy, in accordance with the German, French, Italian, and Romance races and languages of her inhabitants.

To strike out Switzerland from the book of independent nations, would be a crime at which freemen all over the world would stand aghast. Now look at a map of Africa, and see what enormous extent of territory already belongs to England—most of it acquired by her since the last twenty years. The South African Republic and the Orange Free State are, in comparison with that territory, mere specks. They are surrounded by and englobed in those colossal English possessions. They constitute, so to say, an African Switzerland. Shall free and powerful England be the means of annihilating them? It would be a dark and indelible blot upon her escutcheon; and all that can be done to hinder the perpetration of so shameful a crime, will be a service to right, to justice, and to England's own freedom and fame.

KARL BLIND.

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GOLD MINING ACTIVITY IN COLORADO.

BY T. A. RICKARD, STATE GEOLOGIST OF COLORADO.

On revient toujours à ses premiers amours. The search for silver having become discouraged by the late unpleasantness of 1893, Colorado has turned to the occupation of her early youth.

The production of gold in 1892 was worth $5,300,000, that of the year just ended is conservatively estimated at $15,000,000. The silver yield was 26,350,000 ounces in 1892, and has declined to about 20,000,000 in 1895. This comparison only inadequately indicates the altered conditions of the precious metal mining industry of the region, because the gold is largely the product of young and growing mines; the silver is the output of old bonanzas approaching exhaustion. The current year will see a notable accentuation of the wonderful ability of the State to adapt itself to economic conditions.

The story of the past four years affords an instructive example of the vicissitudes of mining. Two new mining camps came into prominence toward the close of 1891. One lay at the foot of Pike's Peak, the other sprang to life near the headwaters of the Rio Grande. The former yielded gold, the latter silver. The Cripple Creek district had been the scene years previous of an abortive mining excitement too brief to destroy the quiet of a peaceful pasture-land. Creede was in the very heart of the silvery San Juan, a country whose poetic name has been written large upon the pages of Colorado history. At that time silver mining was in fashion; everything favored Creede. Cripple Creek was overlooked and neglected. The uncovering of several magnificent veins enabled Creede to contribute $3,100,000 to the silver output of 1892. Cripple Creek that year yielded in gold only $583,010. The following June the news of the closing of the Indian mints came to Colorado like a paralytic stroke. The

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silver industry seemed wiped out in a day. General disorganization supervened, but, amid the chaos of wild talk, incompetent statecraft and hysteric nonsense, the true manhood of the community asserted itself, order was restored, business was resumed, and hope returned. The silver miners flocked from Creede to Cripple Creek. The new district answered to the demand, and the concentration of a despairing energy developed it within a year from an uncertain discovery to a permanent goldfield of the first magnitude. Simultaneously, as if by an enchanter's wand, Leadville, the cloud city of the silver bonanzas of earlier days, grew into importance as a goldfield. An output valued at $262,629 in 1892 swelled to $897,456 in 1893. The old districts, such as Gilpin County, which had been unostentatiously contributing an annual tribute of gold since the day of the first discovery in May, 1859, awakened to increased activity. All over her wide extent of mountain-land, Colorado leaped to life and, throwing off the enfeebling miasma of an ignorant populism, gave herself up to the advancement of an industry which is one of the most beneficent known to a busy humanity.

A year of steady development and vigorous exploration has told its story. Some of it is conveyed through the stubborn testimony of statistics, some is suggested amid the rhetorical confectionery of an irresponsible press, more of it is known to those who direct the machinery of an industry whose unresting wheels are at the command of the capitalist. For the first time the annual yield of gold exceeds in money value that of silver; for the first time, also, it is believed, Colorado has wrested from California the honor of being the leading gold producing State of the Union.

It is needless to emphasize the importance to the State of these results, nor would the consideration of the conditions which have created them warrant the use of the pages of this REVIEW did they not afford an object-lesson of far more than local moment. The widespread revival of gold mining, which bids fair to make the closing years of this century outrival the golden age of early Californian discovery, attracts the attention of every thoughtful observer and becomes intelligible only by examining the causes which, in a typical mining region such as Colorado, have conduced to so marked an activity and resulted in so enlarged a productiveness.

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When silver mining underwent eclipse, the sister industry benefited by the use of the whole of the complicated apparatus of men, money, and machinery thrown out of gear by the collapse of the silver market. The experienced miners, trained superintendents, careful chemists and expert mine managers of the silver camps were compelled to seek new avenues of employment in the wake of the capital departing from districts blighted by adverse legislation. Those who could not get positions went to work prospecting. The parties of gold seekers who wandered over the mountains in the autumn of 1893, were as diverse in composition as the companies of pioneers who sought El Dorado in the dawn of western history. They differed chiefly in being better equipped with experience and endowed with a larger knowledge of the ways in which an ore deposit can be converted into a profitable mine.

Another factor promoting the growth of gold mining was the uncertain market offered to any business save that one whose product was the measure of the value of the product of all others. Likewise the decline in silver, and the disorganization of enterprises dependent upon it, caused a diminished demand for labor and a consequent lowering of wages. This was not effected without strikes and disturbances of a serious kind which, however, ended invariably in a lessening of the cost of ore production. With the diminution of labor-costs came a concomitant cheapening of supplies, the ushering in of an era of economy, a general recognition of a new order of things and the departure of that spirit of reckless extravagance which, by some perverse fate, had always characterized the mining of silver rather than that of the more valuable metal.

The enthusiasm evoked by the success crowning the plucky effort of the bankrupted silver mines naturally gave birth to a good many misconceptions and exaggerations. An idea became prevalent in newspaper paragraphs that silver mines had been turned into gold producers, and that the alchemy of hope had been able to transmute the white metal into the yellow. It is indeed a fact that in rare instances, such as the Amethyst mine at Creede and the Guston on Red Mountain, the lower workings of silver mines have encountered ore carrying a proportion of gold larger than that characterizing the yield of the upper levels. This has been made much of. It is a part of those changes in

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the composition of the ore of large mines which are as frequently observed in a lateral as in a vertical direction, along the strike quite as often as along the dip of the vein. The reverse, the diminution of gold values, also occurs; but for obvious reasons it receives less frequent mention. Besides this observation there is the more common one of an increase in the gold value, not absolutely but relatively, on account of a fall in the market price of the associated silver. When the white metal was in fashion, certain properties which yielded a product containing both the precious metals were spoken of as silver mines, although their ore carried as much as one-third of its value in gold. When the price of silver dropped 24 per cent,* the relative importance of the two metals in such an ore became reversed; it now carried more gold (as measured in dollars, not ounces) than silver, and the mine owners hastened to remove the stigma clinging to a silver mine by labelling it a gold producer. Thus, to take a well-known example from outside the borders of our State, the ores of the Comstock contained 47 per cent. of their value in gold and 53 per cent. in silver. The drop of the latter from a price of 82 to 62 cents per ounce exactly reversed the ratio. No mysterious transmuting had taken place, only a sudden disturbance in the commercial relations between the two metals.

In extending our inquiry from single mines to entire districts it will be found that similar results have been produced by the operation of the laws of supply and demand. All the mining regions of Colorado produce both the precious metals, if we except Aspen, which hitherto has been as prolific of silver as it was niggardly of gold. Even from this district however, there now come whispers of gold discovery. The reports of the Director of the Mint show that Pitkin (the county in which Aspen lies) yielded no gold in 1891 and 1892, but it is credited with $5,942 in 1894. The discredit thrown upon silver mining has caused a gradual cessation of prospecting for that metal and in Aspen it is the magnitude of the old bonanzas which has alone prevented a total discontinuance of operations. In the meantime, the surrounding hills are being carefully examined for gold veins. Some have been found. A beginning has been made even in this silver county.

* At the beginning of 1893 bar silver was quoted in New York at 82¼ cents per ounce. On June 29th it had declined to 62 cents, and in March, 1894, it fell to its lowest point, 57⅞ cents per ounce.

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In other sections of the State where gold occurs more liberally associated with silver, the depreciation of the one metal and the appreciation of the other, the discouragement given to the mining of the former and the enthusiasm called forth in the search for the latter, have resulted in a dwindling of the number of active silver mines, an expansion of operations in gold mines and a consequent increase of gold production sufficient already, in some cases, to transfer the balance from one side to the other and enable an old silver mining district to assert itself as a gold region. Thus San Juan County yielded in 1892 gold worth $155,624 and silver valued at $354,125*, but in 1894, the gold increased to $360,320 and the silver diminished to $235,000.† Other examples might be quoted.

The full effect of these changes is only now becoming evident. It will be more noticeable a year hence. While the silver production of Colorado only fell from 26,350,000 ounces in 1892 to 20,000,000 in 1895, in spite of a decline in the market value of the metal equal to 22 cents per ounce, or 26 per cent., this does not tell the whole story. Since the Indian mints closed, surface prospecting for silver has been discontinued, underground explorations have been restricted, the reserves of ore previously uncovered have been drawn upon, and no new rich mines have been undergoing development so as to take the place of former bonanzas. Vigorous growth has been succeeded by stagnation.

Ore deposits are not inexhaustible. The average life of a productive mine can be measured on the fingers of one hand; and, therefore, any region to maintain its output must be sustained by fresh discoveries to keep pace with the exhaustion which creeps upon old producers. Such is no longer the case in silver mining. The yield of Leadville is maintained because some of its ores carry a heavy percentage of lead as a by-product, and others contain iron in such a proportion as to render the output of certain mines valuable as a flux in the smelting of silicious gold ores. The big veins of Creede are receiving only a half-hearted development. The wonderful bonanzas of Aspen have been sadly impoverished and the mines of Rico are crippled by an insufficiency of exploratory work.

Thus there is the suggestion of a dwindling and discredited industry unduly weakened by a constant transference of its lin-

* Silver having an average price of 87½ cents. † Silver at 64 cents.

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gering vitality to the enthusiastic prosecution of the search for gold. And there can be no mistaking the magnificent energy which has vivified the gold mining industry of Colorado. The past year, distinguished as it is by the notable enlargement in production, is yet more remarkable for the number of its discoveries. When the snow flies the finding of gold veins will be heralded from the tops of sunny hill-slopes and echoed from the depths of dark ravines. Everything, fashion and fact alike, favors gold mining at the present time. It is the only industry whose product has a market value that does not fluctuate. The general fall in prices has lessened the cost of the material used in gold mining, the lowering of wages has stimulated it, the improvement of metallurgical methods and the introduction of business ideas have alike aided it. No wonder new mines are eagerly sought after, and old ones formerly unprofitable are successfully resuscitated into profitable operation. Just now Cripple Creek is commanding the attention of the country. Its production has leaped from $3,900,000 in 1894 to $7,000,000 in 1895. This is an eloquent fact. But in the hurry to participate in the prosperity of its newest-born discovery, Colorado is giving the outside world the impression that it is a territory with one mining district. Its history refutes the idea, and its present condition disproves it. If such were the case, the present gold mining activity would have the familiar aspect of the excitements of the past which have strewn the West with ruined mills and buried mines. No: the gold mining of to-day in Colorado is not local, but distributed over a region which sweeps across the map for 280 miles, from Hahn's Peak in the north to Mt. Hesperus in the south.

It is confined to vein mining. The alluvium of bygone days has been exhausted; and placer mining survives only in an occasional gulch where the Chinaman picks up the crumbs which have fallen from the white man's table, or in localities previously unworkable because of natural difficulties to overcome which heavy expenditures were necessary. Exceptions may indeed be cited against this generalization, and Breckenridge, Alma and Fairplay quoted, yet as a matter of statistics it is doubtful if more than five per cent. of Colorado's output comes from the gravel deposits whose discovery first attracted the wave of emigration of a generation ago.

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The lodes whose degradation fed the alluvium and whose exploitation is now the mainstay of the industry occur in a geological environment of notable diversity from the granite of the geological dawn to the andesite of the revolutionary days of the early Eocene. Their occurrence has been studied by trained men and the relation between ore formation and rock structure has been carefully investigated so as to enable the young science of geology to take the hand of the old industry of mining and guide its blind footsteps amid the perplexities of the underground world.

What one science has done in the darkness another has supplemented in the light. The evolution of metallurgical practice has progressed by an adaptation to changing conditions. The very variety and complexity of the ores of our mountains which first offered many a stumbling block to the inexperienced metallurgist of a former epoch have become serviceable in the attainment of that mixture of materials of differing composition which is essential to successful smelting. The development of certain wet processes, cyanidation and chlorination, has supplemented the work of the smelter and the stamp mill, and by means of the connecting threads of the railway system there is now offered to the miner a choice of methods of ore reduction, which is in itself a very important factor in successful mining. It has permitted of the beneficiation of ores formerly not marketable, and it encourages the prospector to believe that no discovery he makes need be rendered valueless, as happens in other parts of the world, because of the refractory nature of the mineral he uncovers.

As discoveries accumulate camps previously isolated become united into a chain of successive centres of activity which follow the continental watershed from the borders of Wyoming to the boundary of New Mexico. The awakening of gold mining is anything but local in its character; it is a part of one widespread phenomenon, whose source of energy lies deeper than the vagaries of a speculative epidemic. The thirty years' of past endeavor have been but a period of incubation, giving the interval required to build a magnificent railway system, to erect complete smelting establishments and to afford training and experience to those captains of industry who now direct the operation of the furnace and the exploration of the mine. It is no empty rhetoric to say that no country has at its call an industrial machinery so

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thoroughly organized as that which impels the complicated workings of Colorado's mining activity.

This is but in keeping with the times. The expansion of the arts and manufactures of our day requires to an increasing degree the use of the metals. Modern civilization advances on iron rails and is gilded with the gold torn by man from the darkness of the underworld. The art of mining becomes constantly more important to our material welfare. From the products of the mine the wheels of progress are made and from them also is built the elaborate edifice of a complicated civilization. Neither the absurdities of speculation nor the vagaries of human nature can rob mining of the dignity and beneficence which have clothed it from the misty dawn of human endeavor.

T. A. RICKARD.

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THE RAINES LIQUOR-TAX LAW.

BY THE HON. J. RAINES, OF THE NEW YORK SENATE.

It is admitted by nearly all who have given the subject consideration, that the traffic in liquor must be regulated by legal enactment. It is not important to state the reasons which have led to this consensus of opinion, so long as the fact exists that all governments assume to place restrictions upon it, with a view to mitigating to some extent the evils which seem necessarily to result to individuals and society from the business.

The various and widely differing methods of regulation which have been attempted afford an interesting study, both from a humanitarian and from an economic standpoint. The laws of the several States differ as widely as the general characteristics of the people who formulate them, and the influence of the traffic itself on legislation can be gauged to a great degree by the provisions of the statutes enacted. Prohibition, State ownership and conduct, and license under different forms and with varied restrictions, are all under trial, each system having its advocates as well as its opponents. The more general form of regulation is through a system of licenses, involving the conferring upon selected persons of discretionary power to grant or refuse the privilege of selling. This discretionary power is usually somewhat limited by statutory provisions, prescribing regulations as to places where the traffic may be carried on, as to the character of persons who may be licensed, and the amount that may be charged for the privilege of selling. The exercise of this discretion, as is natural, results in abuses of various kinds, whether the power be conferred upon judges or upon excise commissioners. In the case of judges, elected for long terms, the evil effects of the license system may not so soon become apparent as when the power is exercised by commissioners having short terms of office,

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or who are subject to be changed at the will of the appointing power. I can but believe, however, that in the end it will become apparent that the worst system of all is that which places the granting of licenses at the discretion of judges.

The political power of those engaged in the traffic is apparent to-day, as it has never been before. Their influence is not limited by their own numbers, but extends to those engaged in the various avocations with which they have business connections. The manufacturers, the wholesalers, the retailers of liquors, their employees, the owners of property occupied, those engaged in the various trades which receive patronage, as cartmen, grocers, butchers, bakers, bankers, editors, office-holders who owe their places to the votes given by those engaged in the liquor business, form a continuous chain, and are nearly all at the command of the executive committees of this organized industry. It is but natural that the trade should use every effort to protect itself, and so long as discretion can be exercised by any local authority, the effort will be made to control the power which designates or appoints the persons who are to limit or extend its rights, whether those persons be judges or excise commissioners. A careful observer has well said: "It is evident, when a municipality has control of the liquor traffic either directly or through a board appointed by it (as in New York city), that those interested in that trade have the strongest motive to obtain control, if they can, of the municipality. If American experience proves anything, it proves the danger of giving licensing power to the elective body which is vested with general management of local affairs." That this view is correct is evidenced by the combinations made especially in the city alluded to, between those engaged in the traffic and political parties, through which the city government has been controlled. What is said of New York city applies with almost equal force to every locality in the State. The combination of liquor dealers in New York with a political party, enabled that party to enact the worst license law that can be found in the statutes of any State, and, bad as that law is, to make the matter still worse through open and unpunished violations of the few restrictive provisions which, for the sake of appearances, were incorporated in it. How favorable that law is to the traffic may be judged from the herculean efforts made by its beneficiaries to prevent a change in the system.

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It has long been the desire on the part of many to effect a change in the law that should, as far as possible, take from those engaged in the liquor traffic the apparent or assumed business necessity of permitting their political action to be controlled for partisan purposes, and also by such change to deprive any political party or party leader of the power to virtually compel such persons to promote party success through contributions of money or votes. It has also seemed desirable to limit the number of places in which the traffic is carried on, and to compel the traffic to meet more nearly the immediate expense which it imposes on the taxpayer. High license would accomplish the latter results, but not the former. So long as power shall be lodged in any board to exercise discretion as to who shall have the privilege of engaging in the liquor traffic, so long will it be a potent factor in politics as an organized, compact force, to be used to control municipal governments and even the State itself.

The bill which has lately passed the New York Legislature aims to secure political independence to those wishing to engage in the liquor traffic, by defining in the law itself those who may engage in the traffic and the exact terms on which they may do so. It aims at regulation by law, instead of leaving a power of discretion with excise boards which might be used for political or other purposes. The law of 1892 gave a right of review by the courts of the action of commissioners of excise when such commissioners refused to grant a license to the applicant. The new act preserves the right to a review by the courts when a tax certificate—which takes the place of the present license—is refused, and gives a further right of review by the court, on the application of a citizen who claims that a certificate is illegally granted. Thus the rights of the individual and of the public would seem to be protected.

Another object of the act is to reduce the number of places where liquor is sold. It is admitted that the pressure on excise commissioners for licenses is so great that it is almost impossible to induce them to limit reasonably the number of liquor-saloons. It is admitted that the number can be effectually limited through the tax levied; the higher the tax the fewer are those who will pay it. Many of the advocates of a high license feel that the tax imposed by this act is not enough to secure the desired reduction, and would have preferred that it had been made at least one

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thousand dollars in cities of the first class, New York, Brooklyn, and Buffalo. I am not disposed to assume that this view is not correct, still less do I care to argue that the tax is not too low in places of below 50,000 inhabitants. There are wide differences of opinion as to what may be considered a suitable proportion between places where liquor is sold and the population, some holding that there should be no such places, others that "too many are just enough." It has been assumed that the act passed would reduce the number by forty per cent., or from 42,763 to 25,658. I am disposed to believe that the reduction will be not far from thirty per cent.

Another object of the bill is to compel the traffic to pay to the locality and the State a greater proportion of the expense it occasions to the taxpayers than it has heretofore done. The justice of doing this cannot be controverted. Should not the traffic contribute for the relief of all, since it taxes all?

The provisions of the act are intended also to make the restrictive portions of the law more easy of enforcement. To this end the public display of the tax certificate is required; the places are more open to inspection during hours when the traffic is forbidden; penalties for violation are much more severe; all the means in use at present to detect violation are retained, and in addition special officers are appointed to assist in detecting and prosecuting law breakers. It is assumed that the present excise law cannot be enforced, because, it is claimed, the people are not in sympathy with such enforcement. This assumption is a slander on the people. It is not enforced because those engaged in the traffic are an organized force, so powerful that they are able to reach, in many cases, those whose immediate duty it is to execute the law, while the friends of law and order, though greatly in the majority, unorganized, and not united as to methods, fail to make their power felt. The 289 brewers of the State, thoroughly organized, with the "sinews of war" at immediate command, and ever alert and active, are a more potent factor than fifty times that number of good citizens, who are at heart opposed to the traffic and in favor of the enforcement of law, but who are without organization, and without a "camp chest."

Another provision of the bill establishes local option in towns, by providing for a direct vote at the next town meeting as to whether tax certificates of the several classes shall be issued in

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the town or not. Under the present law, local option by indirection is permitted; that is, excise commissioners are elected who are supposed to be favorable or unfavorable to the granting of licenses. It often occurs that after they have been elected the commissioners do not act as they were expected to do. This cannot be the case under the new law.

It is supposed that associations called "clubs" are within the provisions of this act, and this has occasioned considerable opposition to the law.

In a case now pending in the Court of Appeals, the officers of a club were indicted, tried and convicted for selling liquor illegally. In that case the District Attorney admits there is no provision in the present law under which a club can be granted a license, hence the case is liable to turn on the simple question: Can a club sell liquor under the present law? In my judgment the case will go against the club. If this should happen, the clubs which have been denouncing this act, will, I think, be in favor of it as a whole.

The restrictions as to selling liquor in the vicinity of public institutions, such as insane asylums, are new and important, as tending to reduce the opportunities of attendants to obtain liquor.

The present excise law permits the sale of liquor to minors over sixteen years of age. The new act raises the age limit to eighteen. There are other important provisions in the bill which cannot be noticed within the limits of this article, but which will readily be observed upon a careful perusal of it; among them that prohibiting transportation companies from employing persons who are in the habit of indulging in the intemperate use of liquors, and that prohibiting the procuring of liquors for any person to whom it is forbidden to sell. I believe that as soon as the liquor interest shall have adjusted itself to the new order of business made necessary by this act, should it become a law, it will appreciate the fact that it is much better that the traffic should be regulated by law rather than by the discretion of boards of excise, while the people, relieved from a great burden of taxation, and from the combined and active efforts of those engaged in the traffic to control municipal governments for its protection, will approve the law as a whole, though some of the details of the law may be open to criticism.

J. RAINES.

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THE NORTH POLAR PROBLEM.

BY ADMIRAL A. H. MARKHAM, R. N.

THE solution of what I have designated as the North Polar problem, has puzzled and set at defiance the scientific and nautical world for many years. By the North Polar problem I allude to the successful exploration of that mysterious region which has for its centre the northern axis of our globe, and the discovery of that imaginary spot which is universally known and spoken of as the North Pole.

Many attempts have been made, some of them on a very elaborate scale, by brave men, supported by equally gallant followers, to solve the problem, but, so far, these attempts have not been rewarded with complete success.

The idea of exploring high northern latitudes is no mere chimera of the present day; it is one that originated many centuries ago, and it has been fostered and attempted with more or less energy and enthusiasm ever since.

It is difficult to ascribe, with any approach to accuracy, the date of the despatch of the earliest Arctic expedition. We find in the pages of Hakluyt, Purchas, and other old historians, the fact gravely announced that Arthur, King of England, sailed with a squadron of ships so long ago as the sixth century with the object of subjugating and obtaining possession of Iceland. Another historian, during the same period, alludes to Greenland as a dependency of Britain, although the existence of that large continent was not known until discovered by Gunbjorn, and subsequently by Eric the Red, 500 years afterwards.

It is also related how, in the ninth century, a certain nobleman named Othar who resided in the island of Heligoland sailed, under the auspices of King Alfred of England, on a voyage of discovery to the Arctic Regions, and on his return he reported to His

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Majesty that he had succeeded in reaching "that point of the globe beyond which it again sinks to the South!" If this statement be accepted as a veracious one, we can arrive at but one conclusion, and that is that the North Pole was actually discovered and reached a thousand years ago, for the only interpretation that can be put on the above words is, that Othar reached a position on this terrestrial globe terminating at its extreme northern point!

Then we hear of a worthy Franciscan friar who in the year 1360, in the reign of Edward the Third, sailed from England to the "region situate under the North Pole," and this is given to us on no less an authority than Gerard Mercator, the renowned cartographer.

The Church in the early days appears to have taken a very prominent and leading part in matters appertaining to Arctic exploration, for during the reign of Henry the Eighth we read of a canon of St. Paul's Cathedral sailing in a vessel, aptly named the "Dominus Vobiscum," intent on the exploration of high latitudes.

As, however, there is absolutely nothing authentic in existence relative to the geographical results obtained by these and other amateur explorers, we must accept their accounts with some reservation, even if we do not dismiss them altogether from our mind, as either mythical or untrustworthy, and therefore unworthy of serious consideration, and turn our attention to those voyages undertaken in more modern times, the accounts of which are better authenticated and worthy of credence.

I do not propose in this article to deal with those numerous expeditions that were despatched from various countries for the purpose of attempting to achieve the Northeast or the Northwest passages, although the reports of those expeditions, and the experience gained therefrom, have assisted us very materially in our endeavors to solve the North Polar problem; I only intend alluding, very briefly, to those explorers who have succeeded in crossing the threshold of the unknown region, and have advanced our geographical knowledge *polewards*.

The first one then to which I shall refer, is that undertaken in the year 1607 by that sturdy old navigator Henry Hudson at the instance, and on behalf, of certain "Worshipfull Merchants of London." The express object of this venture was the dis-

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covery of a passage *across the North Pole* to Japan and China. The name of Henry Hudson is familiar to all living on the American side of the Atlantic, for it is immortalized by that beautiful river on which is situated the large and important commercial capital of the United States; it is also applied to an enormous territory in the northern part of the great continent of North America; while one of the most extensive bays in the world, with the strait leading thereto, is named after him.

During Hudson's memorable voyage, although he failed in discovering a highway across the Pole, he succeeded in carrying his ship to a higher latitude along the west coast of Spitzbergen than had ever been reached before.

The lateness of the season, combined with the unseaworthy condition of his little craft, compelled him to relinquish all further attempts to persevere in his enterprise, and necessitated his return to England. The ultimate fate of this skilful and gallant seaman on a later expedition was a truly tragical one. Fearing that his rashness and intrepidity would endanger the lives of all on board, a portion of the crew mutinied, after having spent a winter in Hudson's Bay, and placing him with his son and eight others, who remained loyal to their chief, in a small boat, they in a most heartless manner cut the boat adrift, and thus exposed all on board to a terrible and cruel death, for they were never afterwards heard of.

A few years later, namely in 1616, that stout old sailor William Baffin, sailed along the west coast of Greenland, through the bay which now bears his name, until he succeeded in reaching the 78th parallel of latitude, where he discovered an opening extending in a northerly direction, which he named Smith Sound, after Sir Thomas Smith the originator of the enterprise, and chairman of the so-called Muscovy Company. At his highest position Baffin observes that he found the "greatest variation of the compass of any part of the world known," namely, 56° westerly. He returned to England in safety on the 30th of August. Although this voyage had for its primary object the discovery of the Northwest passage, it may be considered as essentially a Polar one, for it resulted in the discovery of that channel which, so far, has been the road by which the nearest approach to the Pole has been made.

It may also be remarked *en passant* that this voyage, in con-

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junction with those made a few years earlier by John Davis, led to the prosecution of the whale fishery, which, in those waters, has proved so remunerative to all who have been sufficiently energetic and enterprising to embark in the exciting trade.

Passing over the expedition of Captain Phipps in 1773, and Captain Buchan in 1818, which, although they added materially to our knowledge of the state and condition of the ice in high latitudes, were otherwise devoid of important results, we come to the famous attempt made by Captain Sir Edward Parry to reach the North Pole in 1827.

There was no man better qualified, by experience and knowledge, to express an opinion relative to Arctic exploration than Sir Edward Parry, who was deservedly regarded as, *facile princeps*, the first and foremost of Arctic explorers. Having given the matter his most careful consideration, he had conceived the idea of proceeding in a ship to the north coast of Spitzbergen, and thence travelling, by means of boats and sledges, over the ice to the North Pole, which he thought it possible to reach before the winter set in. His scheme was a bold one, but it was supported by many eminent men of science and other authorities on the subject, and was favorably entertained by Her Majesty's Government.

A ship was therefore selected and fitted out for the service, and the command of it was entrusted to Sir Edward, with instructions to carry out his plan to the best of his judgment and discretion. The idea was, it must be acknowledged, even with our present lights to guide us, a sound one; but, unfortunately, there was one very important factor in the execution of the scheme that had not received the consideration it deserved, and which really was the principal cause of its failure; and that was the general drift of the whole body of the pack, on which the explorers were travelling, to the southward. They found, after incredible exertions, accompanied by severe bodily hardships and fatigue, that they were drifting to the southward at a greater daily rate than they were advancing in a northerly direction, thus compelling them, most reluctantly and to their great disappointment, to abandon the attempt and return to their ship.

But such good progress had been made prior to the breaking up of the pack, that Sir Edward had the satisfaction and gratification of announcing that they had reached the latitude of

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82° 45′ north, a very much higher position than had ever before been attained, and more than one hundred and twenty miles to the northward of the position reached by Henry Hudson two hundred years before!

The great mistake made by Parry, in the prosecution of this voyage, was in not passing the winter in his ship off the coast of Spitzbergen. Had he done so, he would have started with his travelling parties early in the following spring, when the ice would have been consolidated in one extensive pack, instead of commencing his journey northwards when the summer was well advanced and the pack, consequently, in a state of disruption, broken up into innumerable floes, necessitating the use of boats in crossing the channels that separated them, as well as sledges. In fact, it would have been the difference between sledging over a stationary, instead of a moving broken up, pack. It was an expedition to which a period of at least eighteen months should have been devoted, instead of only six! Had this been the case a very much higher latitude would have been reached, for it is well known that the pack to the north of Spitzbergen consists of fairly smooth and level floes, very different to the heaped up masses of heavy ice encountered in other parts of the Polar ocean.

The next expedition that merits our attention was the one despatched by the United States in 1871. It was commanded by Captain Hall, an enthusiast in all matters relating to the polar regions, and a man who had lived for many years among the Eskimos, with a view of obtaining practical experience of their mode of life and travelling. The route selected by Hall was by way of Smith Sound, the channel already alluded to as having been discovered and named by Baffin, and the entrance to which had been explored and partially surveyed by the expeditions under the respective commands of Dr. Elisha Kane and Dr. Hayes. With such assiduity and skill did Captain Hall push on in his little steamer "Polaris" that he succeeded in taking his ship to the latitude of 82° 5′ N., a nearer position to the pole than had ever before been reached in a ship. At this point, however, his further progress was arrested by a barrier of massive ice through which it was absolutely impossible to penetrate, and he was compelled to retreat a few miles to the southward, where he was fortunately able to secure his ship in safety for the winter under the lee of a large grounded iceberg, appropriately named Provi-

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dence Berg, off the northwest coast of Greenland. This voyage of Captain Hall's proved conclusively the enormous advantages possessed by a ship propelled by steam power over a sailing vessel when endeavoring to force a passage through the ice-clad seas of the north.

Captain Hall's untimely death, shortly after he had established his ship in winter quarters, put a stop to all further exploring work, and the remaining members of the expedition returned to America, after undergoing great privations under circumstances so well known that it is unnecessary to recapitulate them here.

While Hall was prosecuting his researches in the direction of Greenland, another expedition, fitted out by Austro-Hungary, had been despatched with the object of exploring the unknown area to the north of Novaya Zemlya. In a geographical sense the outcome of this enterprise was most important, for it resulted in the discovery of a large continent, the existence of which was previously unknown, and which received the name of Kaiser Franz Josef Land. The discovery of this land was made in a very remarkable manner. The ship in which the explorers were embarked, the "Tegetthof," was beset by the ice a few miles off the northwest coast of Novaya Zemlya, and thus imprisoned was drifted, helplessly, first to the northeast and then to the northwest. In spite of the utmost exertions that were made, those on board were powerless to extricate her from the icy fetters in which she was so firmly held.

Suddenly one day, after a period of thirteen long weary months of forced inactivity, to their amazement land, dark high land, was observed looming up in the far north, and they realized that they had, unwittingly, become the discoverers of a new territory, and that their expedition was, after all, to be a great geographical success.

The ship continued to drift for some months afterwards, gradually nearing the land, until eventually the pack in which she was frozen so firmly, impinged on an island and became stationary. This afforded them an opportunity of exploring the mysterious continent, and it was one that they immediately availed themselves of. With such energy did Lieutenant Payer conduct this duty, with the limited time that was at his disposal, that he succeeded in reaching with sledges, the latitude of

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82° 5′, precisely the same latitude, by a curious coincidence, as that reached by Hall off the coast of Greenland almost at the same time. Shortly after Payer's return the "Tegetthof" was abandoned, the officers and crew making the best of their way to Novaya Zemlya, where they were eventually rescued and brought home.

The discovery of Franz Josef Land was of the greatest geographical interest, more especially with its relation to the solution of the North Polar problem, for Payer reported that he had seen land to the northward which he estimated to be in latitude 83°, and it was supposed to extend even much further north.

Meanwhile an English expedition, fitted out by Government, started in 1875 under the command of Sir George Nares, with orders to follow in the footsteps of Captain Hall up Smith Sound, and endeavor, if possible, to reach the North Pole.

Nares succeeded in face of great difficulties, caused by the vast accumulation of ice that he encountered, in passing the position reached by the American explorers, and of securing his ship, the "Alert," in winter quarters off the northeast coast of Grinnell Land in latitude 82° 20′.

Unfortunately he could proceed no further in his vessel, being stopped by a barrier of enormously heavy ice that extended right across his path from Greenland to Grinnell Land, the land trending away on either side of him to the east and to the west, with no indications of the existence of land to the north.

In the following spring his travelling parties did good work in exploring the north coast of Grinnell Land to the west, and the northwest coast of Greenland to the east, while a third party sledged across the frozen sea in a due northerly direction, reaching the latitude of 83° 20′ 26″, a position just within 400 miles of the North Pole. The difficulties of travelling consequent on the rugged nature of the ice, which was found piled up in large chaotic masses, and the almost complete prostration of the party caused by the outbreak of scurvy, rendered a nearer approach to the Pole impossible, and the travellers were forced to return to their ship after an absence of about eleven weeks. No land was visible in any direction from the farthest point reached.

A few years afterwards, namely, in 1882, Lieutenant Lockwood, attached to the United States expedition, under the command of Major Greeley, succeeded in reaching a position on the northwest coast of Greenland, in about latitude 83° 23′.

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The exploring parties sent out by Major Greeley only confirmed the report brought home by the English of the massive character of the ice, and the impracticability of reaching the Pole in that direction. It is, however, possible to reach a somewhat higher latitude than that attained either by the English under Nares or the Americans under Greeley, if it is found feasible to establish winter quarters on the most northern known part of Greenland, whence travelling parties could be despatched in the early spring, provisioned and equipped in every way for an extended absence, say of three months.

The difficulty, however, lies in the establishment of a base of operations in such a high latitude.

Lieutenant Peary, of the United States Navy, has quite recently been engaged in a most successful exploration of Greenland. He has conclusively proved, by his marvellous sledge journeys across that continent, the truth of what I have just asserted, for had he been able to establish his headquarters on the north coast of Greenland, and then endeavored to sledge polewards, he would, undoubtedly, have succeeded in reaching a very high northern position. As it is, we are largely indebted to him for much useful geographical and other scientific information.

I have now endeavored, in as detailed a manner as the space placed at my disposal in this REVIEW will admit, to set before my readers the various attempts that have been made during the last three centuries to reach the North Pole. It will be seen that science, experience and modern inventions and improvements have not, after all, assisted us very materially in reaching that hitherto inaccessible spot. For while other parts of the world, for instance, in North and South America, in Africa, and notably in Australia and New Zealand, which 300 years ago were absolutely unknown, have now been not only explored, but brought under the influence of civilization, the North Pole remains as unapproachable as ever. During all that long period we have only succeeded in advancing 130 miles out of the 530 that separated Henry Hudson in 1607 from the Pole; while during the last seventy years, that is to say, since Sir Edward Parry made his bold push for the north, we have only succeeded in reaching a position forty miles beyond that reached by that successful navigator. An accomplished distance of not more than two miles for each year that has elapsed !

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This, it must be confessed, is not much to boast of. It is an exceedingly slow rate of progression, but it serves very conclusively to prove the enormous difficulties that attend the solution of the problem.

There is, at the present moment, an area of about a million and a half square miles, the approximate centre of which is the North Pole, that is absolutely unknown.

I have shown that the cordon, or belt, that embraces this unknown region has been penetrated for short distances in three localities, namely, to the latitude of 82° 5′ in Franz Josef Land, to 82° 45′ north of Spitzbergen, and to 83° 23′ north of Greenland.

By referring to a circumpolar map of the southern hemisphere, it will be seen that these penetrations, or approaches to the North Pole, have all been made within sixty degrees east and west of the meridian of Greenwich. In the high meridians of longitude, that is to say those passing through Bering's Strait and thereabouts, the undiscovered area extends to a greater distance to the southward, and the Pole in this direction has not been approached to within 700 miles. This is to be accounted for by the absence of land and by the presence of a barrier of very heavy ice, which has invariably been met in comparatively low latitudes north of Bering's Strait, and which has hitherto proved an insuperable difficulty to the successful navigation of a ship.

In order to ensure success in Arctic exploration it is essential that there should, if possible, be a continuity of coast line. The total absence of known land in the neighborhood of Bering's Strait, renders exploration in that quarter undesirable until, at any rate, other directions have been attempted.

It was the sudden termination of land on either side of Smith Sound, that is to say land trending in a northerly direction, that prevented Nares from attaining an even higher latitude than that reached by his travelling parties.

Had Sir Edward Parry been sledging along a coast line instead of forcing his way through a moving and broken-up pack, he would assuredly have reached a position nearer to the Pole than the one he gained. The great desideratum therefore in selecting a route for Polar exploration, is the presence of land trending to the northward. So long as this can be found, so sure

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is it that its northern termination, however far it may be situated, will be reached. This particular condition, so far as we know to the contrary, is to be found in Franz Josef Land, for Lieutenant Payer has stated that he saw high land to the north of the position which he reached, and which he estimated must have been situated in latitude 83°, and, from the configuration of the land thus seen, taken in connection with the nature of the coast along which he was travelling, it is more than probable that Franz Josef Land extends a considerable distance beyond the furthest land that has yet been discovered. Taking all things into consideration, it seems to me more than likely that, when the North Polar problem is solved—and solved it assuredly will be—the solution of it will be found in the direction of Franz Josef Land.

It is by this route, I feel sure, that the greatest amount of geographical success is to be achieved. At the present moment an expedition, fitted out and despatched through the liberality and munificence of Mr. Harmsworth and under the command of Mr. Jackson, is prosecuting its researches in this direction, and I am confident that we shall soon hear, with most successful results. We know that the members of the expedition will have great difficulties to encounter, and great hardships to endure, but we also know that these difficulties will be bravely grappled with and these privations heroically endured, as they have been in bygone times by those who have gone before them, and whose gallant deeds they are emulating in their brave endeavors to solve the problem.

In addition to the Jackson-Harmsworth expedition, which has now spent two winters in the ice-clad regions of the north, we must not omit to allude to that gallant and enthusiastic explorer, Nansen, and his brave followers, who have already passed three winters, frozen up in all probability, in their little vessel, the "Fram," somewhere in the unknown area, but whose exact locality it is impossible to predict.

Rumors, but so far unauthenticated, have been circulated recently, indicating their presence to the north of Siberia. I do not attach much weight to these reports. Should there be any foundation for them it will, I fear, be a proof that Nansen has been unsuccessful in accomplishing the main object he had in view, namely, the discovery of the North Pole, for it tends to the

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belief that he has been compelled to abandon his ship and return in the same direction in which he set out.

Our best wishes are with him and his gallant companions, and a warm and hearty welcome will be extended to them on their return, whether they have been successful in the achievement of their object, or have failed in consequence of the insuperable difficulties they have had to contend with.

In conclusion, I am inclined to think that everything is in favor of the solution of the problem, and although we are well aware that the North Polar nut is a hard one to crack, it is one that is well worth cracking, and cracked it undoubtedly will be before many years have elapsed. The introduction of steam as a motive power to ships will materially facilitate the solution, nor must we omit to mention the great improvements that have lately been effected in the conservation of provisions of all kinds and descriptions, for these will materially minimize the evil effects of sickness, particularly scurvy; while our increased knowledge of hygienic principles will enable us to keep our ships, or other habitations for the explorers, in a pure and healthy state, and, finally, the valuable experience we have already gained in all those expeditions that have wintered in the Arctic regions, will be of the greatest importance in furthering the successful efforts of future attempts to solve the North Polar problem.

A. H. MARKHAM.

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GOVERNOR MORTON AS A PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE.

BY EX-SENATOR T. C. PLATT; THE HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW; EX-SENATOR WARNER MILLER; EDWARD LAUTERBACH, AND C. W. HACKETT, CHAIRMAN OF THE NEW YORK STATE REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE.

I.

No MAN whose name will be submitted to the St. Louis Convention as a candidate for the high office of President combines so many qualifications for the position as Governor Levi P. Morton. He is pre-eminently an ideal candidate and if nominated and elected he will make an ideal Chief Executive of the nation.

Governor Morton's career has singularly fitted him to discharge the duties of President. His name is associated with success. As a business man and financier he has no superior. As a member of Congress, Minister to France, Vice-President of the United States and Governor of the Empire State of New York, he has rendered very eminent service to his country; he has earned the gratitude and respect and admiration of every true American citizen.

Many people believe that the nominee of the St. Louis Convention, whoever he may be, will be elected. I hope that this may be true, for the weakest Republican candidate would undoubtedly give the country a better and more satisfactory administration than the best Democrat that could be named. But, at the same time, it is not safe for the Republicans to assume that they are going to have a walk-over at the Presidential election in November. Manifold as the blunders of the Democratic party have been, combined with the imbecility and incompetency of the present administration, they will not prevent the Democracy

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from making a hard struggle to retain control of the government, and they will not keep the mass of the Democratic voters from going to the polls next November and voting their ticket straight. It is, unfortunately, a confirmed habit with Democrats to support their party right or wrong.

The Republicans should present to the country as their standard bearer, their strongest candidate, a man whose name will in itself be a guarantee of success. But admitting that whoever may be nominated at St. Louis will be chosen President in November, that fact in itself ought to make the Republicans all the more careful in the selection of their candidate. The election of a weak or incompetent Republican President would perhaps prove more disastrous to the party than a defeat at the polls in November. Such a man would give the country an administration which would drive the Republicans out of power at the succeeding Presidential election and prevent them perhaps from regaining control of national government again during the lifetime of the present generation.

Much will be expected of the next administration. The mistakes of the Democratic administration will have to be rectified. The finances of the country must be placed upon a sound foundation. Sufficient revenue will have to be provided to pay the current expenses of the government. Foreign complications will also confront the next administration, and the President should be a man who by experience has demonstrated his ability to guide the ship of state with safety and credit to the country and his party.

The tariff is not the only issue before the American people. No one can deny or doubt that the great principle of protection to American industries and American labor will be as safe in the hands of Governor Morton as in those of any other man.

Some people are disposed to argue that Governor Morton is too old to perform the duties of President. History has shown that there is practically no arbitrary limitation as to age in the usefulness and ability of public officials to serve their country. Some men are old and broken down at fifty, while others are as capable of attending to all the duties of active life at a much greater age. The great statesmen of Europe are mostly old men.

No man who knows Governor Morton personally would think of

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suggesting that he had reached an age which unfitted him to hold important public positions. The duties of the Governor of New York are fully as exacting and laborious as those of the Chief Executive of the nation. There has not been a day since Governor Morton took the oath of office at Albany that he has not given his personal attention to the discharge of his official functions as well as the equally exacting social duties. He has in fact shown a marvellous capacity for work and endurance both physically and mentally. He is younger to-day in all that goes to make a man young, than the average man of fifty or sixty.

The Republican party has been in existence forty years. During that time it has elected seven Presidents, but no candidate has ever been taken from the State of New York by the Republicans, although for a good many years the electoral vote of this State has been a very important if not a deciding, factor in the election of President. In the judgment of conservative observers, the electoral vote of the Empire State this year will be necessary to the candidate who is elected. New York Republicans have a valid claim on the nomination, and I am confident that the St. Louis Convention will, after careful and deliberate consideration of the situation, give its decision in favor of Governor Morton.

T. C. PLATT.

II.

NEW YORK will present Governor Levi P. Morton to the Republican National Convention at St. Louis, and its delegates will unanimously ask his nomination for the Presidency. Though the Empire State has been repeatedly honored in the selection of candidates for this office by the Democratic party, the Republicans have never selected as their standard-bearer a citizen of this Commonwealth. New York has been for more than a quarter of a century a pivotal State in national politics. Its commercial and industrial interests are so preponderating in the family of States, so varied in character and so in touch and sympathy with every part of the Union, that its majorities are sometimes in favor of the one, and sometimes of the other, of the great parties of the country. Confident as we Republicans are that we shall win in the next election, there are still dangers which

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confront us of too serious moment to permit us to take success for granted. In presenting her candidate, New York will say of him that it is not problematical whether he can carry the State. His record of 156,000 majority shows his overwhelming popularity and vote-getting power. He has proved his fitness for the presidential office as a citizen and a business man, a Member of Congress, Minister of the United States to France, Vice-President of the United States and Governor of the State of New York. In each of these positions he has conspicuously displayed a high degree of intelligence and singular capacity for wise administration in both private and public affairs. He has the courage of his convictions and both by vote and voice is on record and in line with the principles of the Republican party. He is for protection, reciprocity, sound money, and a vigorous and intelligent assertion of the American principle embodied in the Monroe Doctrine.

The Venezuelan question has demonstrated the value, in the presidential office, of diplomacy. Governor Morton while maintaining the rights of America, and strongly and intelligently enforcing her impregnable position upon the Monroe Doctrine, would have done it in a message so clearly and decisively as to raise no question for argument upon the language of his paper as to the American position upon that doctrine, and at the same time to leave the ultimate question of war where the Constitution places it, among the representatives of the people.

As Vice-President of the United States, Governor Morton won for himself, by the impartialty of his decisions, his uniform courtesy in the chair and wise counsels to his party friends, the regard of those of his own faith and a measure of respect from those opposed to him which has seldom been accorded to the presiding officer of the Senate.

The position of the Governor of the State of New York is always a difficult one, because of the different conditions and often antagonistic needs of the cities and the rural communities. These questions are more acute here than in any other State of the Union. The Governor's influence upon legislation has been so conspicuous for reform and good government as to command, even while he is a candidate for the Presidency, approval by the press of all parties. Our country is, beyond all things else, a business nation. In the United States to a larger extent than in any

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other country the change is more frequent from poverty to wealth, from nothing to competency, from employee to employer, and from a subordinate to a superior officer. This phase of American possibilities in American opportunities is conspicuously illustrated in Mr. Morton's career. Beginning as the son of a country clergyman in New England, without acquaintance beyond his village, or financial assistance of any kind, he has become by his business talent and commercial foresight one of the successful merchants and bankers of the country, and he has won distinction in these two most difficult branches of active life.

Beyond any other nation, the United States needs a business administration. Wrecked enterprises, the closing of mills, furnaces and factories, hundreds of thousands of workmen out of employment, and a paralysis of industries, have clearly established what can be done where this faculty is lacking in the government of the country. Uncertainty in finance which assails national credit, produces wide fluctuations in values, and prevents the advent of the era of permanent prosperity, affords additional reasons, and among them the most urgent ones, why a business man should occupy the Presidential chair. A business man would know that the revenues of the country must be greater than its expenditures, or public and private disaster will inevitably follow. The experience of the last three years presents lamentable evidence of this truth. A business man as President would have suggested the measures and devised the remedies to prevent a condition of the Treasury which should call for the borrowing of money and the issuing of bonds to maintain the national credit and meet the necessities of the Treasury. Certainly, Governor Morton with his experience and wisdom in financial affairs, if a necessity had arisen for the sale of our securities, would have so keenly appreciated the high credit of our country and known so well how to maintain it, that the Treasury would have been many millions of dollars richer. Governor Morton, as the Republican nominee, would be in his career, in his business success, in the wisdom of his public actions and speeches, and in his position upon the questions affecting the national credit, the welfare and the honor of the country, a most attractive and popular candidate. Farmers and merchants, manufacturers and artisans, professional and laboring men, would all feel assured that in his election the country would enter again upon a long period of development

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and prosperity, and would know once more an era of universal employment and of good wages, and that general happiness which comes from the increase and distribution of national wealth.

CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.

III.

THE selection of a candidate for the Presidency by the Republican party at the present time is of the greatest importance to the party and to the whole country for the reason that the belief is almost universal that the candidate chosen at the coming convention at St. Louis will receive a majority of the votes cast at the election in November.

During the thirty years that the Republican party controlled the Government it always selected as its standard-bearer a man who represented the principles of the party and who gave the country a wise and economical administration of public affairs, the results of which were shown in the reduction of the debt, in the improvement of the credit of the country, in the reduction of the rate of interest and in the general improvement of the condition of the people. Every industry was flourishing, manufactures increased much more rapidly than during any other period of the nation's history, facilities for transportation were largely improved and cheapened, and the wages of all classes of labor were nearly double over what they were in 1860; and the total wealth of the country was augmented fourfold. In 1893 the administration became Democratic in all its branches for the first time since President Buchanan retired from office. The policies of the Republican party were reversed. As a result, our industries were prostrated, our transportation lines were, to a large extent, bankrupted, laborers were thrown out of employment, wages were reduced and the consumption of our products largely diminished. The masses of our people believe that these disasters were due to these changes of policy in the national administration; and they now see no prospect of an enjoyment of the prosperity of Republican times, except by returning the Republican party to control. Republicanism, as understood by the people to-day, means a protective tariff, sound money, opposition to the free coinage of silver and a strong and conservative foreign

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policy maintaining the Monroe doctrine in its entirety and protecting American interests at all points by means of an adequate navy and perfect coast defences.

Governor Morton's record as a public officer is a sure guarantee that in his hands all these policies and interests may be securely trusted, and will be absolutely safe. He is known to be a thorough protectionist and a sound money man of the soundest character. If he is nominated and elected President there will be no longer any doubt in the minds of our people, or in any foreign countries, as to what our financial policy will be, and our securities everywhere will be taken without hesitation and without fear that they will be paid in money other than the best money of the world. Our credit will be restored to the condition it was in when General Harrison turned the Government over to the Democrats. At that time we were able to borrow money at two and a half per cent.

The business of the country can never be restored to the prosperous condition of 1892 until all doubt has been dispelled as to the re-enactment of a protective tariff law and the settlement of the financial question upon the basis above stated.

Governor Morton is a man easily approached and one who would listen to the advices of his party; and when a decision is finally reached, he has the firmness to carry it into execution, at whatever cost.

The President of the United States is the servant of the people, not their master. Looking at the subject from every possible standpoint, it will be seen that Governor Morton has all the requisites necessary to make a successful President. He is a man who would strengthen his party instead of weakening it, and would doubtless receive the approval of a great majority of our people, without regard to party.

WARNER MILLER.

IV.

AT a juncture in the history of the United States when the paramount questions which are most likely to present themselves through the next four years are those affecting the financial policies to be pursued, our international relations, and the adequate protection of our home industries without unnecessary disturbance of the vast business arrangements which have been based on

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prevailing tariff schedules, it would seem that if a citizen otherwise qualified existed, whose life had been spent in acquiring special experience in these branches of political and economic science, the country would be fortunate if his services, as the Chief Executive of the nation, during the period of the solution of the intricate problems to be adjusted, could be secured.

To me it appears that the present Governor of the State of New York possesses this qualification to an extent that makes him singular and unique in this respect. His steady progression from one plane of activity to another, as a farmer, a merchant, a manufacturer, a banker, a legislator, a foreign minister, a Vice-President, and Chief Executive of this State, have presented unequalled opportunities for diversified and all-embracing knowledge, acquired by personal experience in every important sphere of industry and occupation which will be materially affected by the decision of the great pending national questions.

There is one inborn attribute in which he seems to be prominent, which is the possession of a sound conservatism, never swayed by sudden impulse, or shaken by what may appear to be, often mistakenly so, an exigent public demand. He seems always to have been able to distinguish between such prevailing policies as were destined to be ephemeral and those which were found to be sound and lasting, and to have been able to determine with rare judgment, and unswayed by the excitement of the moment, as to the wisdom of the adoption or rejection of principles governing public action. Then, too, he is a man who possesses the rare attribute of being unspoiled by success; he is still as simple, as straightforward, as approachable, as honestly congenial, as he was at the beginning of his career.

The Republicans of the Empire State have been modest and self-sacrificing. To them, since the creation of the party, has not yet been accorded the privilege of the selection of a nominee for this proudest office in the gift of any people. The destinies of the party and the fortunes of the country have uniformly depended upon its political attitude, which has only in very exceptional cases proved unreliable. Doing much, giving much, sacrificing much, it has hitherto been accorded scant consideration by the Republicans of other States. It seems but simple justice to acquiesce in its unanimous suggestion for the elevation of its favorite son to the post which it covets for him as the crowning

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and deserved glory of a private and public life of singular merit and desert. His nomination, and the election which, of course, would certainly follow it, would secure the certainty, not only of the perpetuated Republicanism of the State, but of the real stalwart, unfaltering Republicanism of this great metropolis. Its citizens, by a vast majority, would respond to the compliment of the nomination of their fellow-citizen, by affiliation with the party whose courtesies to him he has repaid by an unswerving devotion to its great principles and purposes.

EDWARD LAUTERBACH.

V.

THE Presidential situation in 1896 differs essentially from that which has prevailed in any Presidential year since the formation of the Republican Party. The nation has suffered from an unprecedented depression in every department of business activity since the inauguration of Grover Cleveland in March, 1893, and it has suffered without hope of relief so long as either of the great departments of the Government remained in the hands of the Democratic Party. The popular feeling against the Democracy is so strongly marked that for more than two years it has been perfectly plain to every intelligent observer that the Republican candidate for President this fall was practically certain to be elected by a very great majority. It therefore comes about that for almost the first time in the party's history a nomination is deemed nearly equivalent to an election. Under these circumstances it is not surprising to find every business interest in the whole nation uniting in an appeal to the delegates to the St Louis Convention to place in nomination a safe man, and to give the business men a candidate for whom they can cast their ballots with the serene confidence that in voting for the man they are not taking a leap in the dark. This is no time for experiments, and the interests at stake are too vast to allow any thoughtful mind to consider the wisdom of making an experiment by electing an untried man for the Presidency.

The Republicans of New York have no hesitation in announcing that in Governor Levi P. Morton they present a candidate for President who in every way answers the requirements of the hour. He has been tried in public position over and over again,

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and in no instance has he failed to rise to the demands made upon him. He was an excellent Member of Congress; he was a model Minister to France; he was a model Vice-President of the United States. All the nation knows the reputation he has gained and is gaining as Governor of the State of New York. No one is in doubt as to his position on any and every public question. He believes in protection; he believes in reciprocity; he stands for sound money; he believes in upholding the honor and the credit of the Union everywhere and under all circumstances; he believes in dealing with foreign powers as we would have foreign powers deal with us; and he knows the value of a thoughtful, considerate and temperate treatment of all national affairs.

Governor Morton is an advocate of the strictest economy in public expenditures. His untiring effort to prevent unnecessary appropriations by the State Legislature is most convincing proof of his attention to the needs of the taxpayers. And, while this is true, his equally watchful care for the welfare of the working men has been demonstrated by his course in providing work for the laborers on the Capitol in Albany when the regular appropriation had been exhausted. His practical benevolence has been often and widely attested, and his generous contributions to the sufferers from the famine in Ireland, and for the relief of the victims of yellow fever in the South, are matters of familiar record.

We believe that in Governor Morton we have the strongest candidate before all the people that could be designated at St. Louis. His name has now been before the country for nearly half a year and not a word has been uttered against him. His record of a quarter of a century of public life and public effort is an absolutely spotless one—as clearly spotless as his equally honorable and equally long connection with active business undertakings. He knows the necessities of the great business concerns of the nation; he is in thorough sympathy with the hopes of the men who wish to promote the material welfare of the nation and of the individuals of the nation, and we believe that welfare would be surely and well served by his nomination.

C. W. HACKETT.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE REGENERATION OF RUSSIA.

THE body politic of the Russian Empire is a synthesis of six widely differing elements—army, clergy, nobility, peasantry, bureaucracy, and Czar—of which the last three only may be said to be factors in the solution of the problem.

To those who have drawn their mental portraits of the Czars from the works of Swinburne and Kennan, the following conception, based upon the history of their policy, will doubtless appear startling and perhaps untrue.

It was the Czars who united the Slavonic tribes, introduced Christianity, enforced commercial intercourse, established schools and universities, waged a war of extermination upon sorcery and superstition, translated the Bible, codified the laws, annihilated the Golden Horde, broke the iron bonds of Tartar tyranny, imported the arts and artists of Italy, the learning of Greece, the mechanics and engineers of Germany, reformed the abuses of the church, humbled the nobility, introduced printing, established markets for transcontinental trade, reclaimed Siberia and would have saved Turkey. They gave freedom and property to 25,000,000 serfs, self-government to the provinces and new charters to the cities, facilitated foreign intercourse and travel, enlarged the freedom of the press, reformed the courts, permitted trial by jury, provided State-paid attorneys for the people, and made Russian influence paramount in Europe.

All this has been accomplished by the Czars despite the antagonism of that powerful party whose blindness and egotism have ever been well expressed in their motto, "*La Russie pour les russes.*" Theoretically beneath the Czar, but practically far more potent and widespread in its influence, this bureaucracy controls all the offices of the empire. This monster of oppression, like the institution of serfdom, was in its inception by Peter the Great in 1722 but another effort of the Czars to benefit the people, by limiting the power of the hereditary nobility, which had been increased rather than diminished by the quite unexpected results of the ukase of Boris I., and to which the abolition of the latter in 1862 gave the death blow.

Oh, the infinite wisdom of Goethe's prayer that we might "comprehend the consequences of things!" Consider the unexpected results of these two reforms. The first, the establishment of the bureaucracy, by binding the husbandman to the soil, annihilated "the people;" the second by humbling the nobility destroyed the balance of political power within the empire. Thus the bureaucracy was left without restraint in the exercise of any policy, however arbitrary, short-sighted, or corrupt, which its origin and desire for political existence might dictate. Hence, in its inception a power-

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ful machine for centralization, it now forms a distinct class of individuals knit together by iron bonds of official subordination—an *imperium in imperio.* While seeming to obey the Czar, they hold the real power, and cast the responsibility upon him. They control all the sources of popular education and enlightenment—religion, politics, the schools, the press, the judiciary, the ministry, and all the immense police power of the state.

From thraldom such as this there is but one postern of escape for the Czars. That is by way of the people. That the predecessors of Alexander have been aware of their precarious position is evidenced by their policy. "The Emperor," says Prince Delgoruki, himself a Russian exile, "animated with excellent intentions, wishes for reforms; you (the bureaucracy) put every imaginable obstacle in his way. Take care! Remember that the defenders of old abuses in France, for having hampered and paralyzed in 1789 the good intentions of Louis XVI., that true father of his people, brought on a fearful anarchy of which they were the first victims." Russia is at 1785, approaching 1789. May God save her from '93!

The entire population of Russia is 120,000,000, of whom 100,000,000 are peasants, and may therefore be said to constitute the people on whom rests the financial, military and political future of the state. Though ignorant, poverty-stricken and oppressed, the people never die.

On the other hand, it is the well-nigh unanimous sentiment of travellers and historians that they are capable of the highest civilization and intellectual culture. A people who risked all the horrors of a mediæval rebellion—the knout, the *oubliettes* and the mines of Siberia—to save their beards from the sacrilegious hands of that iconoclast Peter the Great, or to prevent a change in the sign of the cross, will not suffer by comparison with those who gave $150,000,000, 400,000 lives, and risked a traitor's death to save a three cent tax on tea. Brave, industrious, patient, self-respecting, self-sacrificing and democratic; loving their *mir*, their country and their Czar with a love that passeth knowledge; blindly faithful to one form of fatalism, that whatever the Czar decrees is for the best; rejecting with alarm the proposal of the bureaucracy to limit the power of the autocracy, preferring the kindly rule of the latter to the tyranny of the former; rising in mass to reject civil freedom from the hand of Napoleon, and accepting death to save a country that offered no other reward than the mines of Siberia or the *oubliettes* of the Bastile of Peter Paul—this people presents a spectacle at once sad and awe inspiring. That they are perfectly capable of managing their own political and civil affairs, no student of the Village Community or Communism in general will deny. As members of the *mir* from a time beyond which the memory of man runneth not to the contrary, the peasants have managed the land, the forests, the fisheries, the renting of the public buildings, the distribution of taxes and the elections of the executive and the judges of the Volost.

Under these circumstances there is but one solution of the problem of Russia's political future, one method of closing the chasm between the civilization of Russia and that of the rest of Europe. The people and the Czar must unite to throw off this incubus—this drag on the wheels of progress. History furnishes innumerable examples of such a coalition. Russia herself has once witnessed the abolition of the political privileges of a class by the combined efforts of Czar and people, when the Boyards attempted to impose restrictions upon the Romanoffs. The sentiment of democratic equality

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inclines them to hate all politically privileged classes and to support the one supreme power which is equally above all.

But to this union there are on the part of the people two obstacles, and these it has ever been the aim of the Czars to overcome and that of the bureaucracy to uphold: First, the non-ownership of the land, and secondly, the want of elementary and professional education. That the peasants' cry, "*My vashi zemlia nasha!*" ("we are yours but the land is ours"), will be answered, that enlightenment will become general, that the supremacy of the people must come—is but the necessary conclusion of the logic of events. History *is* a science and evolution a fact.

In view of these facts we cannot but agree with the dicta of all writers, Russian and foreign, that the Czar and the people are the chief living organic forces in Russian society. The gradual elevation of the people, through the continued efforts of the Czars, notwithstanding the most determined bureaucratic opposition, is the undoubted precursor of a sudden and perhaps violent union of these elements, in a constitutional monarchy by which all other factions and parties shall be ground to powder.

ARNOLD WATSON SHERMAN.

TWO REPUBLICS OR ONE?

A SHORT time ago a merchant in San Francisco posted the following proclamation in front of his store:

"CITIZENS, READ THIS!

"Eastern manufacturers are starving your industrial classes and bankrupting our business men. The crisis cannot be kept up much longer. Our only relief is a Pacific republic. We tax certain foreign goods. Why not protect ourselves against the East?"

It is easy enough to understand that a sentiment such as is here expressed becomes exaggerated in its importance through the publicity given to it by the newspapers. One wonders, however, whether it does not contain the germ of prophecy. In other words, will the time ever come when the United States will divide itself peacefully into two republics, with the Mississippi river as the natural line of separation?

The question is not altogether new. Frequently, as the debates in Congress amply attest, the possibility of a western republic has been intimated. It has been more of a warning than a threat. No one has ever believed that such bisection would come in this generation or the next. Nobody wants it to come at all. Against the working of natural forces, however, human desires are proverbially weak and it may be that these forces will in themselves work out an inevitable destiny.

At present there is little affinity between the East and the West. The two sections are apart on almost every vital principle. This is so evident in the one instance of money that no argument is needed. One has but to refer to the numerous and bitter struggles in the last Congress to note how party lines can be obliterated and sectional lines be drawn. The East is the center of the money power, the home of the holder of the mortgage and of the bond. The West is bending under a burden of debt, suspicious of financial bondage, anxious for a freer and more elastic currency. The East abhors silver as a money metal and clamors for the further appreciation of an already scant supply of gold. The West wants silver recognized, and believes that in no

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other direction does permanent prosperity lie. Within the past two or three years the chasm between the two extremes of the country upon this money question has perceptibly widened.

From the records of Congress, also, could be written the story of the lack of sympathy between the East and the West upon the tariff. It has been impossible to keep the Western Republicans in line with their eastern colleagues, while the low tariff Western Democrat has seen the Eastern Democratic protected manufacturer join the Republican ranks. The representatives of the two sections have little in common. They stand for people of diverse views.

These are but two subjects out of many. The ocean-bound East, lying at the mercy of bombarding fleets, fails to awaken the genuine sympathy of the inland West in appropriations for the navy. On the other hand, the West appeals to almost deaf ears when it pleads for generous sums for irrigating vast arid tracts, for surveying public lands and for developing the untouched resources of sparsely settled empires. That there are exceptions to this broad statement simply confirms the rule. A thousand points of difference could be emphasized. They are even now slight causes of irritation. The future may develop them into unhealable wounds.

But there is another view, most potent of all, which must be considered as affecting the solidity of the United States as now constituted. Until the present time the West has been bound to the East by ties of parentage and home. The Western man who was sent to the Senate or the House of Representatives was born in the East; the Western merchant who had accumulated a little money turned his face to the East to visit the old homestead or the last resting places of his parents. He loved the East because it gave him birth. The present generation in the West feels no such thrill, is bound by no such endearing tie. It is of the West, Western; it has breathed a new atmosphere, it has imbibed new likes and dislikes. In the generations which are yet to come the bond of sympathy will be still further removed. The representative in the Fifty-fourth Congress from Wyoming, until he visited Washington recently, had never been east of Chicago. There are men in California to-day to whom Washington is as distant, in every sense of the word, as China is to us here in the East. When President Harrison went to the Pacific slope a few years ago he was as a visitor from a strange country. The present Chief Executive has never seen the Rocky Mountains, much less set foot upon the broad domain which slopes from their snowy peaks to the ever blue Pacific.

It may be said that with the increase of railroad facilities and the development of the telegraph and telephone, we will find distance annihilated and will be enabled to clasp hands figuratively, if not literally, with our farthest brother. This may be in a sense true; but the fact still remains that the newspapers of the East to-day contain more news of London and Paris than they do of San Francisco. A handful of Eastern people travel across the continent; hundreds of thousands voyage over the Atlantic.

The time may come, therefore—though heaven grant it otherwise—when the bustling, ambitious, independent West will see that its highest development depends upon the management of its own affairs. To avert such a catastrophe there must be a broader, warmer sympathy than now exists; a more intense spirit of patriotism must be inculcated; and, above

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all, there must be an unstinted and undying, a genuine and universal, pride in the greatness and the glory of an undivided republic.

HENRY LITCHFIELD WEST.

BIRDS AND THE ATMOSPHERE.

I HAVE read with much interest an extract from an article in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, by Mr. Hiram S. Maxim, on "Birds and the Flying Machine." In 1891 I suggested that the soaring of birds might sometimes be done by means of upward currents, caused by the heating of the lower strata of the atmosphere by the sun. My explanation is derived from the theory of equilibrium of the atmosphere, given by the late Mr. William Ferrel in his "*Popular Treatise on the Winds.*" It occurred to me that a similar state of unstable equilibrium of the atmosphere to that which causes destructive tornadoes might, when the degree of instability is much less, give rise to ascending currents, which birds could use for flight with motionless wings. In *Nature*, October 1st, 1891, I wrote: "These birds," sea gulls and harriers, "begin to soar at a height of about 200 feet, and rise in slanting spirals to 2,000 feet and under. The gulls are much the most numerous, and flocks of them may be seen soaring nearly every fine day in summer. Sometimes a number assemble, and after going round in circles for a short time, without rising, or rising very little, they come down, the condition of the air being apparently unfavorable for soaring. Whenever I have seen a flock finish an ascent, they all reached the same height, which is consistent with the supposition that they go as high as they can. They never remained at the limit of their ascent, even for a short time, but separated, sailing away downward to great distances.

"The explanation of soaring at great heights, which presents fewest difficulties seems to me to be—that it is done by means of upward currents. This has been suggested by several observers, its main difficulty being the uncertainty that there are such currents of sufficient strength. I shall try to show that upward currents may be caused in two ways.

"Everyone who has watched the working of a windmill, must have seen that the force of the wind varies frequently, and sometimes rather suddenly. It is evident that there must be an ascent of air in front of a current moving faster than the average speed, and a descent of air behind it. As an example of this, when a cold southwest wind was blowing, with showers of rain at intervals, accompanied, as often happens, by increased force of the wind, I once saw a flock of gulls soaring in front of one of these squalls. There can, I think, be little doubt that there was an ascending current, of which the gulls took advantage.

"Mr. W. Ferrel has shown ("*Popular Treatise on the Winds*") that if the rate of fall of temperature with increase of height, be greater than the rate of dynamical cooling of an ascending current, the atmosphere is in an unstable state—that is, if by any cause a mass of air be started in an upward direction in such an atmosphere, the density of the ascending air is less than that of the surrounding still air, so that the former would be driven upwards and an ascending current established which would tend to rush up to the top of the atmosphere, if the instability consequent on the vertical decrease of temperature should extend all the way up; but if the instability did not extend to the top, then, at its limit, the impelling force would cease, and friction would soon bring the ascending current to rest. Conversely in an unstable atmosphere, if a mass of air be

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started downward, the density of the descending air is greater than that of the surrounding still air, and the descent tends to continue down to the ground. Mr. Ferrel says (page 440): ' The unstable state in unsaturated air occurs mostly on very dry and sandy soils with little heat conductivity, when the weather is very warm and the heat rays of the sun are unobstructed by any clouds above. The heat thus accumulates in the surface strata of the soil and the lower strata of the atmosphere, and thus is brought about the unstable state, at least up to a low altitude even in clear dry weather.' And in speaking of what may be called a multiple tornado (page 412): 'As the tornado originates in air in the unstable state, it often happens that there is about an equal tendency in the air of the lower stratum, to burst up through those above at several places in the same vicinity at the same time.' This tendency of the lower strata to burst up in separate spots may exist where the instability is much less than that required to cause a tornado, as in the case of a plain strongly heated by the sun and in the absence of any gyratory motion round the center of an ascending current, there would be no whirlwind, only a quiet ascent of air, in a slanting direction if there were any wind. Such ascending currents may be of small area, not much larger than the circles described by birds when soaring. It seems possible that the object of describing circles may be to keep within the ascending current.

"It is obvious that upward currents over a plain caused either by variations in the velocity of the wind, or by the unstable state of the atmosphere, must be almost insensible near the ground, and could not attain their full strength under a considerable height. This accounts for the fact that over plains birds do not begin to soar at less than about 200 feet. If soaring were possible in a uniform horizontal current, they would save themselves the muscular effort of rising 200 feet and over by the active use of the wings, and would begin to soar immediately on leaving the ground."

As under a hot sun the air is seldom without horizontal motion, masses of air may be started in an upward direction by any obstacle, such as a rising ground, a bush, etc., and an ascending current so caused will draw in air all round, and tend to increase in area. Also when an upward current is started, it necessarily follows that a downward current must start somewhere else, probably on the outside of the former current. Mr. Ferrel has shown that in an unstable atmosphere, descending air is impelled downward by a force equal to that which impels ascending air upward. When the downward current approaches the ground, it must, by Mr. Ferrel's theory, be colder than the surrounding air, and the stability of the column of air at that point is restored, so that the ascending and descending currents cease.

In hilly country the motion of the air must be modified by the diversion upwards and downwards of the horizontal current, and upward currents of larger area and greater force than over plains may result.

Mr. Hiram S. Maxim says: "With the albatross and sea-gull, it will be found that they always occupy the same position as relates the ship, . . . but whenever they find themselves in front of the ship, or on one side, where there is no ascending column of air, they have to work their passage very much as other birds do." This is true as to the gulls on the New Zealand coast, but the albatross Mr. Maxim is speaking of must be a different species from the giant of the Southern Ocean. For a description of the flight of the Southern albatross, I may refer to a letter in *Nature* of May 2, 1889, by me, and to one by Lord Rayleigh in the following number.

A. C. BAINES.

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